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The publication of the
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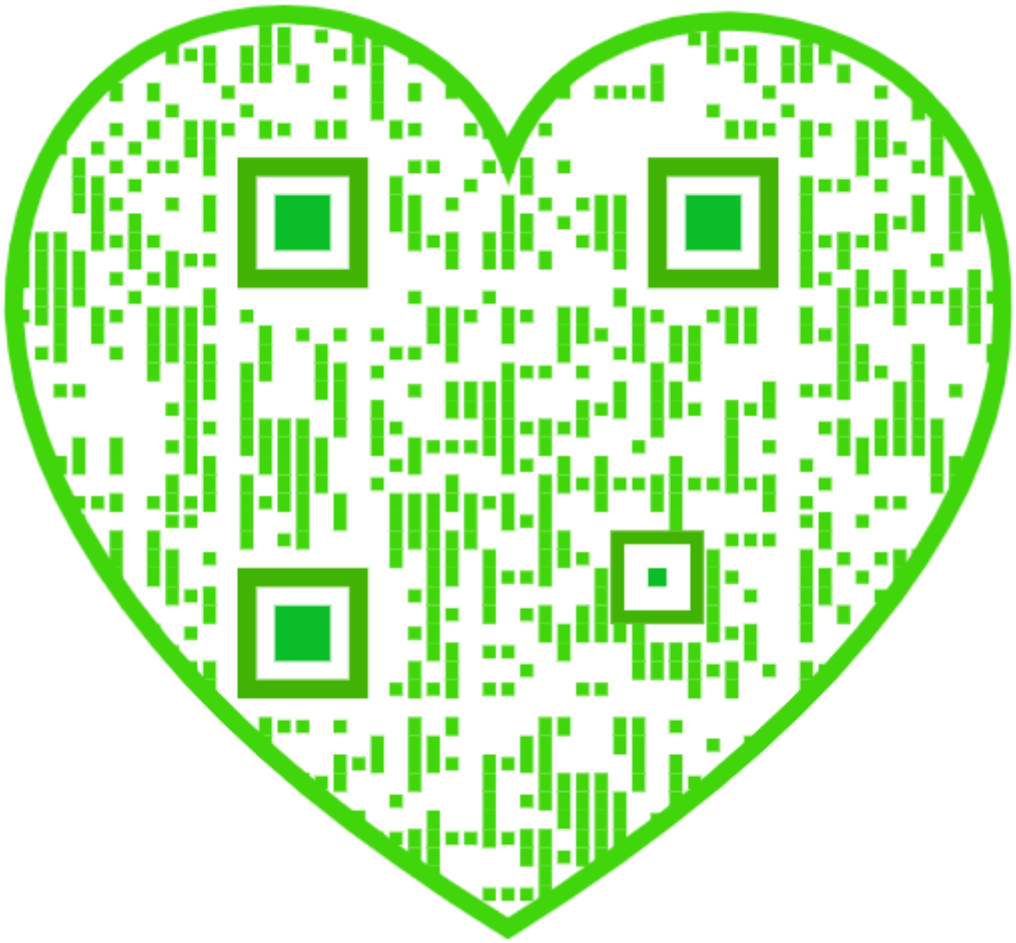
Volume III (1986) Number 1



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FROM THE EDITOR

With this issue, American Journalism has increased its publication frequency to quarterly. The change offers a number of advantages, the most obvious of which is a shorter time between the date a manuscript is accepted and the date it is published.

Along with changing the frequency, we will be publishing more research material. Previously, we have published approximately 200 pages per year. With quarterly publication, the number will increase to 250. The added pages will allow us to raise our acceptance rate on manuscripts by about twenty-five per cent.

Despite the increase, the reviewing process for American Journalism will remain one of the most rigorous among journals in the mass communication field, assuring that authors who have manuscripts accepted may take justifiable pride in the quality of their research.

While having a rigorous review procedure, we also feel a thorough commitment to authors. Readers of a mansucript are selected for their expertise on the particular topic of the manuscript, evaluations are detailed and intended primarily to serve as aids in helping authors construct the best articles possible, and decisions are made promptly, with authors being notified of publication decisions usually within six weeks.

Francis Warrington Dawson: The New South Revisited

By E. Culpepper Clark

The idea of a New South, born in Confederate defeat, was rhetorically transformed by southern journalists into a palpable reality during the 1880s. Newspaper editors were prime figures in the New South movement. Chief among them were Henry Grady of the Atlanta *Constitution*, Francis Warrington Dawson of the Charleston *News and Courier*, Henry Watterson of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and Richard Hathaway Edmonds of the *Manufacturers' Record* in Baltimore. These men urged industrialization on the South, enlightened agricultural practices, racial harmony, and national reconciliation, and if their vision of progress exceeded social and economic reality, they closed the gap between rhetoric and reality with more rhetoric, proclaiming *ad libitum* a triumphant South. So influential were these men that they, rather than politicians, attracted national attention, and drew invitations to speak on behalf of the region, and, in the cases of Grady and Dawson, even dominated state politics.

Dawson, until recently the least known of the New South journalists, may have been its most representative.[1] Before 1886 his name had better circulation in the northern press than that of Grady, but the Atlantan's oratorical triumph in December of that year made the New South movement synonymous with his name. Grady may have given the movement its crowning rhetorical moment; but even as he spoke, the movement itself was only a few short years from yielding to the imperatives of Populist demands. As Broadus Mitchell put it, "Dawson was not an orator, and had none of the flourish of Grady." The Charlestonian's attack was "direct and concentrated," too prosaic to fire the imagination. Yet on such practical concerns as brings the cotton mills south, Mitchell concluded, "In this thinking...the *News and Courier* preceded the *Constitution* by ten years."[2]

Dawson's career has important instructional value for assessing the

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role of the newspaper editor in the late nineteenth-century South. He exhibited four characteristics which, taken together, may be considered archetypical of the New South editor. First, he had a national reputation. His views were a matter of consequence among contemporaries in the North, and he communicated openly and freely with a national community of intellectual leaders. Second, he practiced what Charles Dana called "personal journalism." Like most of his professional colleagues in the South, he owned as well as edited his paper, and the product bore his personal stamp. Third, he was an ardent partisan. No editor in the South, including Grady, had greater influence over his state's political machinery, and few could boast his access to national party councils. Finally, Dawson was an outstanding journalist. As such, he had a passion, some might call it an obsession, for news and for displaying it in an aesthetically pleasing manner. The *News and Courier* became indispensable reading for South Carolinians and sure copy for big-city newspapers in the North. It should also be noted that Dawson displayed these four characteristics in a state that because of its black majority faced the most difficult odds in coming to terms with both Reconstruction and Redemption. Perhaps because of those odds, Dawson best represents that breed of editors who led their region from rebellion, through Reconstruction, into national reconciliation.

Dawson achieved fame among his contemporaries by displaying the virtues of pluck and energy so characteristic of journalism in the nineteenth century. Born Austin John Reeks (pronounced Riks), he assumed the Dawson *nom de guerre* and left his native England at age twenty to fight for the Confederacy. At war's end Captain Dawson moved to Charleston, where, with the aid of friends, he acquired the Charleston *News* in 1867 and the Charleston *Courier* in 1873 for a combined sum of $13,100. He early showed an independent streak by opposing the radical movement for white supremacy in South Carolina and later in his career by showing occasional irreverence for the state's military and political hero, Wade Hampton. Still, the *News and Courier* became the dominant voice in the Palmetto state. When "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman led his disgruntled farmers to power after 1885. he did so by attacking Dawson, not the state's elected leadership. Because Dawson did not shy from editorial controversy, and in fact welcomed a good fight, he was more like Horace Greeley before the war than Adolph Ochs, who ushered in the "objective" journalism of the nineties. Dawson believed that an editor must "write for or against something; for or against an idea; for or against a party," but as his son later put it, he also knew "that a newspaper while assuming the leadership of public opinion could not and must not fight against the unanimous will of the community which it represented."[3]

Dawson was murdered on March 12, 1889, and the subsequent acquittal of his assailant was attributed by many to Dawson's controversial standing in the community.[4] Whatever the case, his funeral was the occasion for great public mourning. Charlestonians could not

remember such an outpouring of grief. The *News and Courier* expressed it publicly, "The death of Captain F.W. Dawson, soldier, scholar, and patriot, was one of those events which rise eminently above the commonplace of the history of Charleston and South Carolina." But one Carolinian put the sentiments of Dawson's friends best and privately. On hearing the news, William Porcher Miles made a simple notation in his diary. "Horrible! Dawson will be a great loss to Charleston & South Carolina & the entire South. A man of brilliant talents—fearless & energetic."[5]

National Reputation

The booster image is the most enduring impression of New South journalists. The persistence of relative economic privation and a sense of second-class citizenship within the nation created a demand for publicists who could transform the region's promise into claims of actual accomplishment. Though charged with fabricating myths of southern success, abundance, and racial goodwill, they fashioned images that served to balance the region's deeper sense of frustration and failure. Both the country weeklies and the urban dailies participated in the fabrication of these myths. But not all editors were as sanguine about the South's condition as were spokesmen like Grady and Edmonds. Though Dawson labored long and hard for southern industrialization and boosted any scheme that promised better railroad connections for his city, he was not loath to criticize the more unrealistic claims of the New South propagandists.

The best evidence of Dawson's realism is found in his quarrel with the South's leading propaganda organ, the *Manufacturers' Record.* Through 1885 Dawson had defended Edmonds' paper, but by the time of Grady's famous address before the New England Society of New York (and partly because of it), Dawson had come to believe that the Baltimore paper was in fact guilty of falsifying evidence of southern progress. Dawson concluded that "the statements of the *Manufacturers' Record* are shown to be erroneous and misleading. They are wrong in principle, and fatally defective in their application. Their only effect is to delude those who cannot think for themselves, and to cause premature elation to newspapers which have not the patience to construct statistics on their proper account."[6] These manufactured records were no better than the false prophecy of a Henry Grady who pointed to "local affluence" (Atlanta) and proclaimed "general prosperity."[7] Though accused by the *Constitution* of denigrating the South's accomplishments, Dawson was beginning to perceive what later New South spokesmen such as Walter Hines Page and Lewis Harvie Blair would observe more clearly, "that the New South writings were that fuzzy medley of strong belief and personal experience out of which social myth emerges."[8]

Dawson's more realistic view of the region's progress is not an indication that boosterism was unimportant in countering regional inferiority. It does suggest that the role played by New South editors

was more complex. More than promises of prosperity or claims of success, New South journalists provided respectable connections with a national community of opinion leaders. The rise of the fourth estate in the last half of the nineteenth century created a group of journalists who spurned traditional party allegiance, in part out of a felt need to maintain the independence of their estate. In so doing, they fashioned a national fraternity that housed Liberal Republicans and New South Democrats. They united on civil service reform, free trade, and a view that only the "best men" should rule (by which they meant not black, not immigrant, not subscribers to an "ism," and not politicians pandering to these groups). The most famous journalists of the day belonged to the fraternity, including E.L. Godkin, Carl Schurz, George William Curtis, Samuel Bowles, III, and Charles Dana, the man who penned the label Mugwump on this group when they bolted the Republican party in 1884. Through these men, New South editors talked to the nation in ways the region's political leaders could not.

One prevalent view is that these reform editors filled a vacuum created by the absence of national political leadership.[9] The bearded yet faceless presidents in the years between U.S. Grant and Teddy Roosevelt, with the possible exception of Grover Cleveland, so the argument goes, were symbolic of the political failure to come to terms with the nation's post-war problems. While it is certainly true that the "best men" complained about incompetent and corrupt leadership, it does not follow that political leadership was absent. In fact, it was the very strength of that leadership, especially in the Senate, allied as it was with the new forces of industry and urban expansion, that caused so much concern for liberal reformers. But if the scenario of rushing to fill a vacuum does not seem best to characterize the northern reformer, it does fit conditions in the South. Given the legacy of Rebellion, Reconstruction, and Redemption, southern politicians had great trouble, at least before Woodrow Wilson, in gaining the national ear. Their suspect voices, in a region still expected to be repentant and suppliant, made it all the more imperative that editors, free from political suspicion, communicate the regional apologia. New South journalists did so by joining forces with northern editors who, isolated from the political power of their own region, rushed to embrace fellow outsiders.

Dawson moved comfortably and familiarly among those who comprised the nation's gifted but politically powerless *viri boni*. He was a member of the executive committee for the Society of Political Education (SPE), the most ambitious effort ever undertaken to organize liberal reformers nationwide. By disseminating information on political economy, the SPE hoped to convert a million Americans to the cause of free trade and civil service reform. The original promoters were David Ames Wells, Charles Francis Adams, William Graham Sumner, and Horace White. The Society's weekly bulletin, *Million*, carried "the latest intelligence on civil service and tariff matters to a distinguished, exclusive membership."[10] In addition, Dawson was a

vice-president of the American Free Trade Association and managed the southeastern campaign for Grover Cleveland, the one American who could unite Liberal Republicans and New South Democrats. Through these contacts Dawson accepted invitations to address northern audiences and corresponded with national leaders.[11] If South Carolina's politicians were constrained to speak the language of the region, at least Dawson, the Warwick of South Carolina politics, gave his readers a sense of belonging to the larger community.

Respectable connections also were more important than speaking with a single mind about the South. New South editors were not necessarily of one accord. When Grady thrilled the crowd at Delmonico's in 1886, he seemed in the eyes of some to have apologized for the South's apostasy and in fact praised the virtues of Lincoln as the first "typical American." Most southern journals immediately recognized the brilliance of Grady's oration, but Dawson kept silent for six days. When he did make editorial reply, he never mentioned Grady's name or his speech. Dawson denied "absolutely that among thoughtful Southerners there is any such thing as an intelligent recognition of Mr. Lincoln as a typical American." The South was willing to give Lincoln credit for "his shrewdness, his knowledge of men, his loyalty, his perserverance," but "he was never a typical American, unless such an American must necessarily be coarse while kindly, vulgar though good-hearted, ill-bred while acute, awkward while amiable, and weak in act while strong in word." Though unwilling to praise Lincoln as a model American, Dawson did perceive traits that made him "a typical western man," or "perhaps a type of new class who are rising into prominence in parts of the 'New South.'" This new class appeared all too eager to admit Garfield's dictum that the North was "eternally right" and the South "eternally wrong" in order to gain economic concessions from the North. Dawson believed with the Augusta *Chronicle* that Grady had succumbed to the "excitement and enchantment" of the moment and had cowardly extinguished "the principle of the 'Old South'" in the midst of his "postprandial pledges." Dawson reminded his Atlanta counterpart that "it is not for the sons to apologize for their fathers, whose homes and honors they inherit."[12]

Dawson's rebuke of Grady did not mean that one was an apostle of the New South and the other a relic of the "Old." When discussing the region's past, spokesmen for the New Departure frequently could quarrel about the causes of the South's recent fall from national grace while agreeing on the main outlines of a national reconciliation. What both Grady and Dawson's speaking in the North illustrated was the psychological need for a defeated South to explain itself in however many voices seemed necessary. Moreover, because editors were not as constrained by the politics of the situation, thoughtful observers in the South depended on these men to spread their message. After Dawson moved North to counter Grady's remarkable assertions, he received letters from readers who seemed relieved that he had spoken for them.

One South Carolinian wrote that a recent trip North made him feel "even more keenly than before, the false position we were sought to be placed in by the utterances of Henry Grady, and it was therefore with additional pleasure that I read the antidote so promptly and efficaciously applied by you the other day." The correspondent also mentioned Dawson's editorials "as evidence that his (Grady's) ideas by no means meet with universal acceptance."[13] Another writer praised one of Dawson's speeches as a valuable contribution "to the history of the 'lost cause'" and commended the editor's courage not to indulge in "weak and cowardly concessions to the dominant sentiment and the repudiation of principle for the sake of securing policy."[14] These testimonials were clearly the expressions of people grateful for a voice.

Personal Journalism

The role of the New South editor as regional spokesman was but part of a larger development that pointed to a revival of "personal journalism," at least in the South. Earlier, the nation had experienced this style of journalism as men like Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, and James Gordon Bennett, Sr., sought to cope with Jacksonian democracy and its aftermath. Now it was the South's turn to come to grips with a democracy that had been forced upon them. The notions of popular government and general education that were imposed upon the South when the radicals of Reconstruction rewrote the state constitutions were maintained when the conservatives restored home rule in the 1870s. Thus, the seeds were sown for a protracted and bitter struggle between white conservatives and disgruntled white farmers and laborers over who would rule at home. Adding fuel to the mix was a black population still franchised to vote. Eventually the conservative regimes would be overthrown and blacks disfranchised, but during the interim, when the issues of southern democracy were yet to be settled, New South editors preached the conservative gospel of industrialization, crop diversification, and the creation of small farms—almost as if these editors were the remnant agents of a New England ideal that had been imported south by the carpetbaggers of Reconstruction.

No state suffered the bitter divisions of democracy more than did South Carolina. The only state with a clear majority black population, her white leaders eyed each other with a suspicion intensified by the spectre of black rule should they divide. Moreover, the state was decisively rural, and Charleston, its chief urban center and last citadel of the *ancien regime*, was treated like a pretentious stepchild by the rest of the state. Out of these circumstances would come a feat of personal journalism unequaled in the South, if for no other reason than the incredible obstacles in Dawson's path. Like Greeley before him, he borrowed a small amount of capital, mixed it with his own, and built a newspaper of unsurpassed reputation. Despite the odds stacked against a foreign-born editor in staid old Charleston, he became the

arbiter of South Carolina politics. By the 1880s a Georgia Republican could complain, "Liberty of the press in South Carolina! There is none. The metropolitan Thunderer, the *News and Courier*, issues its Jovian mandate, and the country newspapers croak, 'Me, too; Me, too; Me, too,' like little slender frogs in the pond when some huge amphibian makes general proclamation."[15]

Dawson's commanding personality was made of stern stuff. When Lee surrendered at Appomattox, the twenty-five-year-old ex-captain had only a Confederate five-dollar bill, a pen-knife, and a three-cent stamp, along with a right arm still useless from a bullet wound received at Five Forks. Two years later he owned the Charleston *News*, and by early 1873 he had formed the *News and Courier*. "Denouncing, arguing, demanding reform, in season and out," wrote a distinguished historian of South Carolina, "Dawson's pen was persuasive and eloquent, often...being the determining factor in the course of events." To underscore that dominating quality, the historian concluded, "Dawson was a power in the state and he knew it. One may hesitate to assert it dogmatically, but the writer thinks that never in South Carolina's turbulent history has a single paper so dominated the thought of the state."[16] Dawson's good looks and personality would have made him a success in any enterprise, but he chose to be an editor and an owner at a time when few careers offered more excitement. He had toted the gun for Henry Rives Pollard of the Richmond *Examiner* when that editor had a shoot-out in the rotunda of the State House in Virginia, and he later would meet, unarmed, Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr., on a Charleston street when that old fireater was spoiling for a fight. It was a life that appealed to a young adventurer, and the prospect of returning to England where Catholics were barred from opportunity clearly held no promise.

In achieving his preeminent position, Dawson was served ably by the men around him. Chief among them was Bartholomew Rochefort Riordan, the newspaperman Dawson had met in Richmond at war's end and the man who would invite Dawson to Charleston. Riordan eventually became the manager of the *News and Courier* and Dawson the editor, though initially Riordan thought it would be the other way around. Riordan left Charleston in 1884 to enter the cotton trade in New York, and his place was ably filled by General Rudolph Siegling, a prominent Charleston banker and president of the News and Courier Company. "To the men who worked with them and under them," wrote the paper's historian, "Dawson, Riordan, and Siegling were 'the great triumvirate.'"[17] William Watts Ball, a prominent Charleston editor in his own right, said that "*The News and Courier*'s writing staff was as large then as it is now (1932) and in ability was superior to any staff that any newspaper in South Carolina has had at any time."[18] The illustrious group included at one time or another Alfred Brockenbrough Williams, later to become editor of the Greenville (South Carolina) *News;* Carlyle McKinley, a poet "who nearly crossed the border-line of genius";[19] Robert Means Davis, subsequently a

prominent member of the faculty at the University of South Carolina; Yates Snowden, accomplished historian; and James Calvin Hemphill, "the quite conventional Associate Reformed Presbyterian 'Seceder' from the up-country" who succeeded Dawson as editor.[20]

The search for talent was aggressive. The *News and Courier*'s stormiest acquisition was Narciso Gener Gonzales, who was brought to the "Old Lady of Broad Street" after scooping her on an important story. He would become the brightest jewel in the *News and Courier*'s crown of reporters. Though his years on the paper were turbulent and spent in frequent quarrels with Dawson, his reports from Washington and Columbia were vivid and were featured prominently. To Dawson's face Gonzales complained of low pay and on occasions of being muzzled, and to Dawson's back he referred to the boss as "Dumbiedikes," the "Grand Mogul," or the "Tycoon." On one occasion the Carolinian with a Cuban name complained of having been "Dawson's darky" long enough and declared himself eager to "escape from Dawson's continual ordering and hectoring."[21] But despite the clash of these two personalities, Gonzales stood to learn much from Dawson, and Dawson was certainly well served by Gonzales. Conceding that "the irrepressible correspondent would have been a trial to any employer," Gonzales' biographer concluded that the correspondent's respect for his employer never diminished.[22] Had Dawson lived, he would have admired the future accomplishments of his fiery reporter. In the 1890s, Gonzales founded and edited the Columbia *State*, and, ironically, like his mentor he also fell to an assassin's bullet.

Dawson's single most important asset in running the paper was his wife. He married Sarah Fowler Morgan in January of 1874, nine months after forming the *News and Courier*. She was an accomplished writer, having authored the second most famous diary of the Civil War, *A Confederate Girl's Diary*,[23] and during their courtship Dawson earnestly solicited her work for the *News and Courier*. She responded with a brilliant series on the "woman question" and wrote with a perspicacity on that subject equalled only by her English contemporaries John Stuart and Harriet Taylor Mill. Dawson would continue to be a strong advocate of women's rights.[24] After their marriage, she ceased to write for the *News and Courier*, by her own choice, but counseled Dawson's work. She would wait for his return late at night and served as a ready resource for the writing he always did before retiring to bed.

Despite the ability of those who surrounded Dawson, his personal domination of the paper was complete. He insisted on supervising all aspects of the paper's composition, down to the most minute detail. At noon each day he assembled the reportorial staff and assigned the day's work, a great portion of which he reserved for himself. Working fourteen to sixteen hours a day, he could not rest without "cutting loose absolutely and going to Europe."[25] Even then he wrote editorials in advance of his leaving and left behind specific instructions as to how the paper was to approach various issues. A memorandum to J.C.

Hemphill before Dawson left for Europe in 1883 gave the following instructions:

> Editorial advice: avoid all sore subjects with regards local affairs; Support R.R. bill; Reduction tariff—looking always to free trade; no reduction whiskey & tobacco; Demo's take what can get in present Congress; Civil Service Reform; To win, natl election, must deserve to win; Let alone all liquor questions as State and County issue; Run as much as possible on matters of national concern...New York Times pretty safe guide on tariff questions; keep all pamphlets;...Railroad law—to stand for two years.[26]

Before leaving for Europe in 1886, Dawson cautioned that it was "imperative that you avoid all rows and wrangling with any person or persons in the State and I desire that the paper shall not in any way...be taken out of or beyond its present lines of policy."[27] Dawson required that copies of the *News and Courier* follow him on his travels, and he took time to send back comments and more advice on the paper's editorial policy.[28]

Such caution, however, was not what made the *News and Courier* one of the South's exemplary papers, and readers could tell when the editor was away. During the 1883 trip abroad, Gonzales remarked, "Matt Tighe, our latest man and Dawson's stenographer, writes me that 'the editorial side of the paper has lately been worse than the sophomoric slop of a college journal' and I think he is about right. Riordan only cares to write about 'wishy-washy' things and doesn't do that with vim."[29] Dawson's style was vigorous, aggressive, and courageous. He embodied the concept of "personal journalism." The editor-historian, Jonathan Daniels, put Dawson at the top of his list of editors who were bound to be heard, even though he feared that "the crusading editor in 'personal journalism' has always been a man about to disappear." During Dawson's own time, Charles Dana had observed:

> Whenever in the newspaper profession...a man rises up who is original, strong, and bold enough to make his opinions a matter of consequence to the public, there will be personal journalism; and whenever newspapers are conducted only by commonplace individuals whose views are of no consequence to anybody, there will be nothing but impersonal journalism.[30]

The New South Editor as Partisan

Dawson lent his personal influence to the Liberal-Democratic persuasion of the late nineteenth century. Like E.L. Godkin of *The Nation*, Dawson "spoke with the voice of Manchester to the New

South."[31] He sought to end corruption in government by supporting civil service reform and by favoring a general restriction of the suffrage so that only the literate could vote. He lent a sympathetic pen to such causes as Irish home rule, Chinese immigration, woman's emancipation, and the rights of labor. He favored sound money and free trade, sought to protect the rights of property and the inviolability of contracts, and gave strong support to the preservation of law and order through licensure laws directed at pistols, whiskey, and gambling. Like progressive reformers in the next century, he was anxious that vices be kept away from the vicious elements in society. He was knighted by the Catholic church for almost single-handedly bringing dueling to an end, and he opposed lynch-law until very late in his career, when he seemed to waver on the issue. But of all his interests, politics was the most absorbing. The love of power was too inviting, and his ability to manipulate politicians and issues made him all too willing to bite the apple.

A young lawyer of the time later reminisced, "I recall as if it were yesterday Capt. Dawson with almost boyish face, fair complexion and light eyes, and crisp, curly hair in the thick of the crowds surging around city hall, seated in an open buggy with cigar between his lips. That buggy, you may be sure, had circulated the polling places more than once during the day."[32] But if politics were what made his blood surge, success did not always crown his efforts. In fact, his first ten years in Charleston were spent skirmishing with the radicals of Reconstruction. By the end of that period he had come to champion the cause of "fusion," a policy that looked to the coalition of Democrats and conservative Republicans behind the last Reconstruction governor of South Carolina, Daniel Henry Chamberlain. Like Dawson, Chamberlain tended to be a Manchesterian liberal and was desirous of lifting his skirts over the mud of Reconstruction corruption. Dawson believed that fusion would divide the Republicans, thereby allowing the white minority in South Carolina to gain control of the government.

But South Carolina's Conservative Democrats were determined to take the state by force if necessary and united behind their military hero, Wade Hampton.[33] The policy of fusion, which early had seemed so attractive, especially for Charleston business interests, began to die. Still, Dawson clung to the policy until the Hamburg massacre of July 1876 caused the underlying issue of race to surface openly. Hamburg, like many another racial conflict in the South, was blamed on its victims, the blacks, and Dawson sought to expose the transparent villainy of the whites. He lost favor with his own constituency, and the stop notices began to pile up at the *News and Courier* offices. Spurned in his aspiration to be a delegate to the state convention in Columbia, Dawson was forced to eat political crow. On August 16, the *News and Courier* headlines proclaimed "Wade Hampton and Victory!" It was difficult to discern which was the more audible, the ill-concealed laughter of Dawson's recent enemies or his own sigh of relief

at being relieved of the burden of fusion politics. Dawson believed that a newspaper, while leading public opinion, should not and could not oppose the unanimous will of its community. Never again would Dawson be caught so far out.

It took some time for the editor to repair the damage. Radical elements in the Democratic party charged him with profiteering on printing contracts during Reconstruction, charges on which he was exonerated before all but his bitterest political foes. But by 1878 Dawson was back in the saddle as the Democrats turned to him to negotiate an end to federal election fraud cases which had become a source of embarrassment to the state. By 1880, Dawson's enemies within the Conservative Democracy were on the run, and one of the state's U.S. senators, Matthew Calbraith Butler, was in Dawson's pocket. The election of Hugh Smith Thompson as governor in 1882 gave Dawson virtual control of the government. Thompson was not a part of the old war crowd who owed allegiance to Wade Hampton, and his independence from that legacy, along with his sound conservative policies, made him just the man Dawson needed.

Dawson's rapid recovery from political apostasy owed to his unerring instinct for the right candidates and the right issues. Almost alone among southern editors and politicians, Dawson early cast his fortune with Grover Cleveland, and the endorsement paid off. A Cincinnati paper observed, "The *News and Courier* was the first Southern newspaper of prominence to advocate the nomination of Gov'r. Cleveland...and...it was largely due to the influence of that paper that Mr. Cleveland received the Southern support which insured his nomination."[35] Dawson's position as a member of the Democratic National Committee may have helped in sounding the political waters, but more likely it was Dawson's connections with liberal reformers in the North. Whatever the reason, the *News and Courier* seemed to be keeping a Cleveland watch. On his election as governor, the paper observed political significance in the fact that "the men who give Cleveland his enormous majority in New York are not Democrats." When in 1882 Cleveland pontificated that winning in 1884 depended on whether Democrats could "show the country that their present success means reform of abuses and good government," the *News and Courier* found "Presidential timbre in such talk as that."[36]

But other candidates attracted the affections of Dawson's fellow Democrats. The Atlanta *Constitution* was strong for Samuel Tilden, while South Carolina's leading patriarch, Wade Hampton, was a staunch supporter of Delaware's Senator Thomas Francis Bayard. Dawson was not disposed to support either. He believed both to be weak and scored them for failing to prosecute their candidacies (and, perforce, the causes they espoused) with vigor. He felt that Tilden's inaction permitted the election of 1876 to be stolen; and on meeting the sage of Greystone, Dawson described him as a man "who looks and speaks like a galvanized mummy."[37] He berated Bayard similarly. Dawson went to the Cincinnati Convention in 1880 with great hopes

for the Delaware senator, but disappointedly wrote home, "Bayard has no bureau, no barrel and no boom. Providence is expected to take care of him, apparently, and there is a sad lack of push and activity." Furthermore, Bayard's greatest claim to southern support was a poltical albatross. In 1861 the senator had delivered a widely publicized speech in which he denounced the use of force in restoring the seceded states. Dawson was correct in assuming that Bayard's candidacy would make the issue one of loyalty rather than reform.[38]

In June 1884 Dawson won the South Carolina delegation over to Cleveland and away from Wade Hampton's friend Bayard and went to Chicago to push for Cleveland. The reform governor's success meant that Dawson would be placed in charge of the campaign for the South Atlantic states, along with Alabama, and that his voice would be heard clearly in national party councils. As a partisan editor, Dawson was now unrivaled. Even Georgia's kingmaker, Henry Grady, would have admired the control Dawson exercised in South Carolina. One old Hampton loyalist complained, "If there be a ring in the State, it is the executive committee of the State, and that ring is on Dawson's little finger."[39] When "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman rose to power near the end of the decade, he did not attack any elected official; he went after a newspaper editor. In the state-wide campaign of 1888, the real show on the hustings took place between two non-candidates, Dawson and Tillman. (Tillman would not be a candidate for governor until 1890, the year after Dawson's death.) The canvass actually ended in Charleston with the leader of South Carolina's restive farmers and the master of its Conservative regime exchanging verbal shots.[40]

The newspaper business always had been a partisan affair, but certainly no more completely than Dawson and Grady made it in the 1880s. They called the shots in their states. Their philosophy of partisan involvement was similar. When Grady refused to become a candidate for Congress in 1882, Dawson applauded: "Mr. Grady has never done journalism better service than in announcing his conviction that the journalist who would serve his constituency best must be free from even the suspicion that he has any personal ambition or aim outside the mighty domain of his profession."[41] As editors and owners, these two men knew that in a newly emerging and unsettled democracy real power lay in the ability to publicize issues and candidates. Congressman Samuel Dibble, an influential representative of the Charleston district, felt like many another politician when he wrote "to say how great a debt I owe you personally and the *News & Courier*... I shall never forget the personal, as well as party, interest you evinced."[42] Dawson needed no further evidence that the pen was mightier than the office.

The New South Editor as Journalist

Respectable connections, personal journalism, and partisanship were not enough to make the New South editor the dominant force he became. He also had to know how to make a newspaper work. The

larger dailies in the South assembled excellent staffs, kept up with advances in technology, and produced newspapers that were aesthetically pleasing and interesting to read. Grady advanced the art of interviewing to the point that imitators made it a staple of reportorial practice. His invitation to address the New England Society of New York on the subject of the New South was the direct outgrowth of his interviews and reports on the Charleston earthquake of 1886. Adolph Ochs of the Chattanooga *Times* proved that good management could turn a profit and later applied the same principles in rescuing the New York *Times* from ruin. And as with all good newspapers, the New South journals mirrored their times. Even out-groups, such as blacks and opposition political movements, received attention, though the coverage itself was biased and often vicious. Still, primacy was given to news of the day.

To all the traditional virtues of newsgathering—staffing, interviewing, reporting, and writing—Dawson added two elements: the promotion of newspapers throughout the state (which for him became an early form of networking) and, the stifling of local competition at home. He was consummate at both. As early as March 1870, Dawson, with the aid of Thomas Y. Simons of the Charleston *Courier*, sought to establish a state press association. The meeting he foresaw in 1870 was to be called a press conference, and as he told the editor of the Abbeville *Medium*, "I want to have men there from your section, and beyond you, who will *talk right out what they think.* Say what the upcountry wants and *will do!*"[43] The meeting was "designed to give unity and strength to the democratic press in the discussion of all politcal men and movements," but it met with "partial failure." Later, when the Abbeville *Medium* itself called for a State Press Association, "it was ably seconded and supported by *The News and Courier,* and by invitation of the proprietors of that paper held its first meeting and organized in the city of Charleston in May, 1875."[44] At that meeting Dawson was elected First Vice President.

By that time Dawson had discovered that the country press could be an extension of the urban press. In the quarrel over Dawson's policy of fusing with the last Republican administration, a rival newspaper, the *Journal of Commerce,* was established in Charleston and Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr., was called from Louisiana to edit it. Its first editor had been imported from Virginia and, while a graceful writer, was woefully ignorant of South Carolina and her condition. He was reported to have written "with a state map before him that he might know whether Orangeburg or Oconee was nearer to Charleston." The situation did not improve much with the return of Rhett, for he too had been out of touch with the state and had not "the intimate knowledge of recent political history and the sure knowledge of just what strings to strike that Captain Dawson had." The *News and Courier* with its superior wire service and organized state network was constantly getting the scoop on news items and lording the fact over its rival. These difficulties for Rhett's paper were compounded by the absence

of a "practical general newspaper man in the establishment." The net result was to drive the demoralized staff of the *Journal of Commerce* "wild with impotent fury."[45] Under this pressure, Rhett challenged Dawson to a duel that aborted before it could delight the citizens of Charleston.

Dawson's patience in establishing a state network among the rural press proved useful in his battle with the *Journal.* Not only had he helped the Abbeville *Medium* in organizing the Press Association; he had given it top billing. He shared news and information with the country weeklies and printed their columns in the *News and Courier* on a selective basis. They appreciated this professional courtesy and in return respected most of Dawson's political cues. When Dawson was losing his battle for fusion, he used the country press to stem the momentum of his opponents. With an editorial mast of "Watch and Wait and Win," he tried desperately to indicate a trend for postponing the nomination of what his opponents were calling a Straightout Democratic ticket (i.e., no fusion with Republicans). He did so by announcing that "Abbeville had joined Charleston, Clarendon, Georgetown and Orangeburg in this decision and that Barnwell, Beaufort, Chester, Kershaw, Colleton, Darlington, York, Marion, Marlboro, and Sumter could be expected to join."[46] He reported this trend on the authority of his press contacts in those communities.

In the end Dawson lost the battle over Straightout nominations but won his war with the *Journal of Commerce.* On the occasion of that paper's demise, Dawson lectured the people of South Carolina. He recounted that the *Journal* had come into being because the *News and Courier* was on the wane, "and a wish to hasten the moment when it should sink below the horizon actuated...many persons from whom we had differed or...had been constrained, at times, to oppose." The *Journal of Commerce* had hundreds of stockholders who wanted to injure the *News and Courier.* They failed, and there was a lesson: "personal antagonism" was not enough to win a place for a new journal.[47] What Dawson called "personal antagonism" was in fact genuine political difference over public policy; and because newpapers, at least in the South, could be started with a relatively small amount of capital, these political differences frequently led to the establishment of rival papers.

In 1887 Dawson began experiencing political problems in the upper wards of Charleston where laboring elements in the population resented their inability to get a fair hearing in the *News and Courier.* These dissidents were beginning to perceive their interests as directly linked to the fortunes of Ben Tillman, the agricultural Moses. To counter this restiveness, Dawson announced the establishment of an "Up-Town office" and promised that there would be no more ground for complaints about insufficient coverage of the upper wards. Simultaneously, Dawson took the occasion of the collapse of the Augusta *Gazette* to lecture the public again on the resources needed to run a first-class newspaper. He noted that the *Gazette* had been

established out of personal animosity for Patrick Walsh, Dawson's friend and editor of the Augusta *Chronicle,* and a mistaken belief that Augusta should have two morning papers. He made it clear that neither motive was sufficient to raise the necessary capital for a successful venture.[48]

The establishment of the up-town office and Dawson's gratuitous lecture on newspaper management were not simply coincidental, for on February 7, 1888, the first issue of the Charleston *World* hit the streets promising an outlet for up-towners and other dissidents. Owned by the World-Budget Company and edited by Octavus Cohen, the *World* was supported by ex-mayor and former Dawson ally William Ashmead Courtenay and the growing Tillman movement in the city. The feud between the *News and Courier* and the *World* was not simply a matter of name-calling or maneuvering to catch the right political winds. Dawson was too experienced a journalist not to know that at the heart of the fight would be the issue of who could produce the better newspaper. While political factionalism could give birth to a newspaper, he knew that only good journalism would sustain it. As a result, Dawson spent enormous energy making sure his paper got the best news and got it first.

The *News and Courier* from its beginning had held exclusive rights to the Associated Press dispatches for Charleston, and Dawson continued to pay handsomely to maintain the monopoly. However, he complained about having to pay $150 a week for the services while the Greenville *News* was paying a paltry $35.00.[49] Dawson also moved to buy up the United Press services, demanding that should the *World* drop its rights to the Sunday dispatches or should the *Sun,* a small evening paper, give up its rights to the daily service, the *News and Courier* would have exclusive rights to the forfeited franchises.[50] Getting the news became an obsession. When the Associated Press failed to get its dispatches through on March 12, 1888, Dawson fired off an angry letter saying that the public's confidence in the *News and Courier* had been shaken, while the *World,* with its poor news service, was able to scoop the "Old Lady of Broadstreet." The next day an even greater calamity struck when the *World* came out with press dispatches identical to those appearing in the *News and Courier,* indicating that the dispatches were either leaked or stolen. Dawson demanded an immediate investigation, but the piracy continued off and on until early 1889 when the sources from which the news was stolen were discovered and closed.[51]

The most painful consequence of the war with the *World* was that it ultimately forced Dawson to cut back on the *News and Courier's* services. In July 1887 the *News and Courier* had gone proudly to sixteen pages and two editions, and in that year the paper returned a handsome profit of $30,000 on a capital value of $300,000. In the following year, profits were down by a third despite Dawson's efforts to make his paper more attractive through such features as political cartoons. With revenue falling, the ever practical Rudolph Siegling,

president of the News and Courier Company, wanted to retrench, but Dawson struggled on until necessity forced his hand. In September 1888 he wrote N.G. Gonzales that financial difficulties made it impossible to have more than one man in Columbia, but he expressed the belief that Gonzales could still beat the competition since "their correspondents have other News Paper work to do, while you give your whole time to our work." Dawson regretted having to let Gonzales' brother go but promised good recommendations; on the same day, he ordered cutbacks in service from Augusta and Greenville.[52] While these and other measures enabled the *News and Courier* to reduce expenses by $6,000 in 1888,[53] it marked the first time in Dawson's twenty years of journalism that he was forced to survive by offering less rather than more news.

The strained financial conditions led directly to strained relationships with the staff. Two members of the paper's managerial staff deserted to the *World;* and while Dawson wished them well, the move distressed him.[54] Of graver consequence, but unknown to Dawson, J.C. Hemphill and Carlyle McKinley were laying plans to launch a venture of their own. The plans came to naught but indicated the level of unhappiness around the *News and Courier* offices.[55] Overbearing under normal circumstances, Dawson must have been unbearable more than once as when he snapped at Gonzales for allowing the *World* and the Columbia *Register* to scoop him on a story. Gonzales answered politely but firmly that such reproach was "not the way to encourage one man to compete successfully with two."[56]

Dawson's struggle to maintain the *News and Courier's* leading position included reorganizing the company financially and dipping deeply into his own pockets. He converted four-fifths of the company's capital stock into first mortgage bonds to avoid taxes; and while the move was good for tax purposes, it added a fixed interest cost which was bound to aggravate financial conditions in periods of declining revenue. He comitted $4,800 of his own money and another $2,500 from Siegling in order to sustain operating costs.[57] It was the kind of thing he had done successfully on other occasions, but this time he was clearly over-extending himself. He went to New York City to borrow money from friends, but about all he got out of the trip was moral encouragement and dinner with a rising young politico named Theodore Roosevelt.

The *News and Courier* did not go under, and the *World* did not go away, at least immediately. The rise of the Tillman movement alone was enough to keep the rival paper going, and the political success of "Pitchfork Ben" in 1890 helped sustain the journal. By that time Dawson was in his grave. What the struggle with the *World* underscored was Dawson's keen journalistic sense that the battle was not essentially one of finances or even politics. The real battle was for news. His support of a State Press Association and the networking that venture entailed; his placement of correspondents in Washington, Columbia, and other regional cities; his jealous guardianship of the

press services; even his badgering of local correspondents—all amounted to the same thing—getting the news and getting it first.

Conclusion

The list of New South editors is not very large but contains the names of men whose distinguished careers gave the movement its defining quality. Until recently, the absence of separate biographical treatment for Dawson helps account for the greater attention given the accomplishments of the two Henrys, Grady and Watterson. Yet Dawson's career was equally, if not more, representative of the New South movement, if for no other reason than that South Carolina experienced in more extreme measure the forces that went into making up Reconstruction and Redemption. In Dawson's career one finds in equal proportion the essential ingredients of the New South editor. More than a publicist for regional prosperity, Dawson was a man who provided his constituents respectable connections with a national intellectual community. Through their surrogate, readers of the *News and Courier* could participate in national reconciliation without apology. Like other New South editors Dawson owned his paper. As a result, the *News and Courier* became an extension of the editor's personality, and in Dawson's case that personality was considerable. As a partisan editor, Dawson searched for political solutions to some of the most vexing problems a newly emerging democracy could pose: not only what to do about blacks, but equally important, what to do about illiteracy in general. In coping with these problems, New South editors were more like the editorial fraternity that sprang up in the wake of Jacksonian democracy than those who practiced the independent journalism of Adolph Ochs. Finally, Dawson was a good journalist. Having bought two struggling newspapers for little more than $13,000, he transformed them into a booming $300,000 enterprise in less than fifteen years. An unerring instinct for news and a willingness to compete aggressively for it made the enterprise tick.

The temptation to compare Dawson with Grady is an obvious one and occurred to his contemporaries. Differences are obvious. When Atlanta memorialized Grady by erecting a statue of the great editor in the very heart of the city, N.G. Gonzales insisted that Charleston give its hero similar recognition. He argued that Dawson had done "as much for his city and his State as Grady ever did for his. Nay, more—for while Grady's light task was to aid in a rapid development, Dawson's was the hard one to arrest decay." If Grady were "the apostle of peace," concluded Gonzales, then Dawson should be remembered as "the herald of hope."[58]

NOTES

[1]Until recently the only study of Dawson's life was an excellent M.A. thesis by S. Frank Logan, "Francis W. Dawson, 1840-1889: South Carolina

Editor" (Duke University, 1947). Though historians had called for a published biography, one did not appear until my *Francis Warrington Dawson and the Politics of Restoration: South Carolina, 1874-1889* (University, Ala., 1980). The book may be appropriately termed a political biography and focuses on Dawson's considerable influence in the state, region, and nation. This essay treats Dawson's career as a journalist and discusses more closely his place among New South editors. Some of the material has been recast from the book, much is new, and the interpretive thesis original.

[2]Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921), p. 114. For a complete account of the clash between Dawson and Grady see my "Henry Grady's New South: A Rebuttal from Charleston," *Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 41 (Summer, 1976), pp. 346-58.

[3]Herbert Ravenel Sass, *Outspoken: 150 Years of the News and Courier* (Columbia, 1953), p. 44; and comments by Warrington Dawson on a MS biographical sketch of his father, written by Sarah Dawson for the *National Cyclopedia of Biography*, unpublished, F.W. Dawson Papers, Duke University Library; cited hereafter as Dawson Papers, Duke.

[4]Dawson's assailant was Thomas Ballard McDow, a medical doctor who lived and practiced around the corner from Dawson's house. Dawson was in the doctor's office to demand that he stop seeing the Swiss governess that Dawson had employed for their children. Following an angry exchange, McDow shot Dawson, and after ill-concealed attempts to cover the crime, gave himself up. McDow claimed self-defense and was acquitted by a jury of seven blacks and five whites—unusual racial composition even for 1889. Politics aside (and Dawson was in the middle of an intense struggle in Charleston), it would have been difficult to convict a man for shooting another inside his own home.

[5]William Porcher Miles Diary, March 13, 1889, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[6]*News and Courier*, May 21, 1885, and Feb. 1, 1887.

[7]*Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1887.

[8]Paul Morton Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York, 1970), p. 202.

[9]The notion of a political vacuum emerged in part from the historical rehabilitation of the Gilded Age's liberal reformers. See Geoffrey Thomas Blodgett, *The Gentle Reformers: Massachusetts Democrats in the Cleveland Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), and John Gerald Sproat, *The Best Men: Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1968).

[10]Sproat, p. 56.

[11]For example, see MS copy of a speech prepared for the Reform Club of New York, ca. 1880, Dawson Papers, Duke. See also correspondence of Dawson to R.L. Dugdale, secretary of the SPE, Jan. 28 and March 30, 1881, and a series of letters to and from Henry George, Jan. 31 through March 18, 1881, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[12]*News and Courier*, Dec. 29 and 30, 1886.

[13]Philip E. Chazal to Dawson, Feb. 26, 1887, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[14]W.L.T. Prince to Dawson, June 28, 1887. See also W. G. McCabe to Dawson, June 13, 1887; and C.C. Jones, Jr., to Dawson June 7, 1887, all in Dawson Papers, Duke.

[15]Quoted in James Welch Patton, "The Republican Party in South Carolina, 1876-1895," in *Essays in Southern History*, ed. Fletcher Melvin Green (Chapel Hill, 1949), p. 99.

[16]Robert Hilliard Woody, *Republican Newspapers of South Carolina*, Southern Sketches, ser. I, no. 10 (Charlottesville, 1936), p. 52.

[17]Sass, p. 45.

[18]William Watts Ball, *The State That Forgot: South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy* (Indianapolis, 1932), p. 171.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 172.

[20]Lewis Pickney Jones, *Stormy Petrel: N.G. Gonzales and His State* (Columbia, S.C., 1973), p. 87.

[21]N.G. Gonzales to his sister, Dec. 1, 1882, Elliott-Gonzales Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[22]Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, p. 123.

[23]Sarah Morgan Dawson, *A Confederate Girl's Diary*, intro. by Warrington Dawson (Boston, 1913).

[24]See my "Sarah Morgan and Francis Dawson: Raising the Woman Question in Reconstruction South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (January,

1980), pp. 8-23.

[25]*The Union*, Feb. 5, 1886, scrapbook, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[26]Dawson memo to J.C. Hemphill, ca. February 1883, *ibid.*

[27]Dawson to J.C. Hemphill, July 25, 1888, *ibid.*

[28]Dawson to J.C. Hemphill, March 15 and April 2, 1887, Hemphill Family Papers, Duke.

[29]Gonzales to his aunt, March 13, 1883, Elliott-Gonzales Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[30]Jonathan Daniels, *They Will Be Heard: America's Crusading Newspaper Editors* (New York, 1965), pp. 309-10.

[31]C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, A History of the South, vol. 9 (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 146.

[32]Joseph Walker Barnwell, "Reminiscences of the *Courier* and Its Editors," *The News and Courier* 125th Anniversary Edition, May 1, 1928.

[33]In South Carolina, Democrats preferred the label *Conservative* to avoid the odor of treason which still surrounded the *Democratic* label and to distinguish themselves from the Radical Republicans. Later in the seventies, the term *Conservative-Democratic* was frequently used.

[34]Comments by Warington Dawson on an unpublished biographical sketch of his father, written by Sarah Dawson for the *National Cyclopedia of Biography*, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[35]Clipping from the Cincinnati *Graphic*, ca. July 1885, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[36]Dawson to his wife, July 14, 1880, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[36]*News and Courier*, Nov. 9 and 10, 1882.

[37]Dawson to his wife, July 14, 1880, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[38]*News and Courier*, June 21, 1880, and June 12, 1884. That Dawson was right in his assessment of Bayard is indicated in H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse, 1969), p. 194, "Senator Bayard wanted lightning to strike, but hesitated to raise any rods."

[39]Reprinted in *News and Courier*, Sept. 9, 1885.

[40]For a detailed account of the Tillman and Dawson exchange, see my "Pitchfork Ben Tillman and the Emergence of Southern Demagoguery," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (November, 1983), pp. 23-33.

[41]*News and Courier*, June 9, 1882.

[42]Samuel Dibble to Dawson, Nov. 10, 1882, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[43]Dawson to James S. Cothran, March 11, 1870, T.C. Perrin Papers, Duke.

[44]Abbeville *Medium*, Feb. 9, 1876, Dawson Scrapbook, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[45]Alfred Brockenbrough Williams, *Hampton and His Red Shirts: South Carolina's Deliverance in 1876* (Charleston, 1935), pp. 32-33, 63-64.

[46]*News and Courier*, July 28, 1876.

[47]*Ibid.*, July 25, 1878.

[48]*Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1888.

[49]Dawson to Patrick Walsh, Dec. 31, 1887. On that same day Dawson wrote William Henry Smith, agent for the A.P., to protest the matter. Dawson Papers, Duke.

[50]Dawson to W.P. Phillips, July 1 and Dec. 12, 1887, Jan. 30 and Feb. 3, 1888; Dawson to W.H. Smith, Dec. 1, 1887, and Jan. 6, 1888; Dawson to C.T. Williams, Nov. 26, 1887, all in Hemphill Family Papers, Duke.

[51]Dawson to W.H. Smith, March 12 and 13, 1888; and Dawson to J.C. Hemphill, Jan. 30, 1889, *ibid.*

[52]Dawson to N.G. Gonzales; to T.R. Gibson; and to T.E. Norton, Sept. 8, 1888, *ibid.*

[53]Memo from Dawson to Clarence Cary, Feb. 9, 1889, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[54]The two who jumped wre J. Swinton Baynard and Wilson G. Harvey, Jr. (*News and Courier*, Sept. 24, 1888). Dawson to his wife, ca. September, 1888, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[55]A.B. Williams to J.C. Hemphill, Oct. 18, 1888; William H. Breese to J.C. Hemphill, Dec. 21, 1888; and C.R. Hemphill to J.C. Hemphill, Dec. 28, 1888. Hemphill Family Papers, Duke.

[56]N.G. Gonzales to Dawson, Jan. 9, 1889, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[57]A Dawson memorandum of Jan. 16, 1889, setting forth his involvement in the financial affairs of the News and Courier Company, Dawson Papers, Duke.

[58]Quoted in *News and Courier*, Oct. 29. 1891.

Mrs. O'Leary's Cow and Other Newspaper Tales About the Chicago Fire of 1871

By Fred Fedler

For 200 years, editors obtained much of the news by subscribing to the papers published in distant cities and by copying their best stories. If one newspaper published an interesting error, the editors in other cities might copy that error, not knowing (or perhaps not caring) that the story was false. Newspaper readers might quote the error; so a single error could be repeated thousands of times.

The errors embarrassed innocent victims and fooled millions of Americans. One of the most famous involves Mrs. 0'Leary's cow, which was accused of starting the Chicago fire.

Chicago's great fire of 1871 started in the O'Leary's barn, but Mrs. O'Leary was in bed at the time. Because of a sore foot, Mrs. O'Leary had gone to bed early that night. The tale about her cow seems to have been created by a reporter who wanted to make his story about the fire more interesting. It was a fanciful tale, much more interesting than the truth. Other journalists copied it, and the public believed and remembered it.

Newspapers far from Chicago also published other inaccurate and sensational stories about the fire. For example: newspapers reported that vigilantes killed hordes of thieves and arsonists and that 2,500 babies were born and died during the fire.

Conditions in Chicago

The summer of 1871 was unusually dry. Chicago's last heavy rain fell on July 3. During the next three months, the city recorded only one brief rainfall and a few sprinkles.

The Chicago *Tribune* called the city an enormous firetrap. The *Tribune* explained that ninety per cent of the buildings in Chicago were constructed of wood.[1] Some, particularly those in the business district, had brick or stone walls—but wooden floors, window frames, doors, and roofs. A few owners considered their buildings fireproof, but even their buildings had wooden rafters and tar roofs.[2]

About 300,000 people lived in Chicago, but the city employed only

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200 firemen and owned only seventeen steam-powered fire engines. The city's Board of Police and Fire Commissioners complained that the tar roofs were unsafe, that the city's water supply was inadequate, and that the city's fire hydrants were too far apart. The board wanted to require the use of metal roofs, to hire more firemen, and to purchase several fire boats, but the city's Common Council ignored its recommendations.[3]

The O'Leary Family

Patrick O'Leary, his wife, and their five children lived at 137 DeKoven Street. The O'Learys were poor and lived in a neighborhood of wooden shanties. DeKoven Street was unpaved and littered with papers, boxes, scraps of wood, and other garbage. A reporter called it "a mean little street of shabby wooden houses, with dirty dooryards, and unpainted fences falling to decay."[4]

O'Leary was a laborer. His wife, Catherine, was about thirty-five years old and kept five cows, a calf, and a horse in a barn behind their house. She milked the cows at 5 a.m. and at 4:30 p.m. every day, and then loaded the milk onto a wagon and sold it to neighbors.

The O'Learys had purchased their home for $500 and lived in three rooms in the back. They rented the front half to a railroad man. Their barn was forty feet behind the house. It was a two-story structure, fourteen feet high, but only twelve by twenty feet wide, with three tons of hay stored in the loft.

The Great Fire

Chicago's "Great Fire" started on a Sunday night—October 8, 1871. For the next twenty-four hours, flames raced through the city and could be seen in Peoria, one-hundred miles to the south.

Experts say a twenty- to thirty-mile-an-hour wind was blowing in off the prairie, toward Lake Michigan. Witnesses remember a much stronger wind blowing toward the heart of the city. Typically, a newsman recalled, "A gale of wind was blowing from the southwest and urging the fire onward over the wealthiest and handsomest portion of the place."[5] Experts concluded that the fire became so large and so hot that it created tremendous updrafts and cyclonic winds similar to those reported in German cities bombed during World War II.[6]

Chicago's firemen were helpless. All the city's water pumps were located in a single building with a wooden roof. After flames destroyed the building, firemen were unable to obtain any more water from the city's fire hydrants. They moved their engines to the Chicago River or to Lake Michigan and pumped water directly from them. But their hoses could not reach the heart of the city, and flames raced through it unopposed.

The flames shot forward as though aimed from a blowtorch, destroying blocks of banks, stores, hotels, theaters, and government offices. After leaping across the Chicago River, they struck the North

Side, turning its home and factories to ashes. Witnesses reported a continuous sheet of flames, two miles long and one mile wide.

The fire burned itself out after reaching the northern city limits Monday night. A cold rain that started at about midnight helped extinguish the remaining flames.

Almost nothing survived. Iron railings melted. Lamp posts drooped. Walls crumbled into heaps of rubbish. A Chicago paper reported that marble buildings "were burned to quicklime, crumbled, fell, and disappeared as though they were the mere toys of children." Another source said that the intense heat "melted down five-story brick and stone buildings in five minutes...."[7] Other witnesses said that the interiors of brick and stone buildings burned and that the buildings' walls cracked or collapsed, but never melted.

In about twenty-four hours, the fire swept over 2,100 acres: an area four miles long and one mile wide. It destroyed 17,500 of the city's 60,000 buildings. About 100,000 people (one-third of the population) were homeless. The damage totalled nearly $200 million.

Chicago's Newspapers Rebuild

The fire destroyed every newspaper office in Chicago.

The four-story Tribune Building was supposed to be fireproof, but buildings directly opposite it burst into flames, and the flames seeped under the wooden pavement and sidewalks. Later, a theater wall collapsed against the Tribune Building, tearing it open to the flames. Joseph Medill, the *Tribune's* editor, immediately bought a small printing plant that had escaped the flames and then ordered a press from Baltimore. Within hours, the press was on its way.

Another Chicago paper, the *Evening Post*, published an extra edition that Monday and reported on Tuesday that the fire had started in a small barn. The *Post* commented, "How those flames originated we do not know, though rumor has it that they were the result of incendiarism, and also that they sprang up from a carelessly used pipe or cigar."[8]

The Chicago *Tribune's* reporters and editors returned to work on Wednesday, and their first story about the fire reported, "At 9:30 a small cow-barn attached to a house on the corner of DeKoven and Jefferson streets, one block north of Twelfth Street, emitted a bright light, followed by a blaze, and in a moment the building was hopelessly on fire."[9]

The publisher of another Chicago newspaper considered retiring. Wilbur Storey, publisher of the Chicago *Times*, reportedly exclaimed: "The *Times* is destroyed. Chicago is destroyed. I am an old man."[10] But Storey was only fifty-two years old, and his employees urged him to rebuild. The *Times* resumed publication on October 18—eight days later than its competitors- and received a flood of advertisements from businessmen anxious to announce their new locations. Within five weeks, Storey earned a profit of $4,000, and his enthusiasm returned.

The *Times* immediately published a longer story about the fire's origin and progress. Reporter Franc Wilkie wrote the story "with a bland disregard for facts...."[11] Much of his story was obviously fraudulent. Wilkie reported, "Flames were discovered in a small stable in the rear of the house on the corner of DeKoven and Jefferson streets." Wilkie added that an old Irish woman living in the house had been a welfare recipient for many years and that: "Her very appearance indicated great poverty. She was apparently about seventy years of age, and was bent almost double with the weight from many years of toil, and trouble, and privation. Her dress corresponded with her demands, being ragged and dirty in the extreme."[12] Wilkie added that Mrs. O'Leary had applied for welfare and that the county always gave it to her—until learning that she owned a cow and sold its milk. Infuriated when the county stopped her payments, Mrs. O'Leary "swore she would bring revenge on a city that would deny her a bit of wood or a pound of bacon."

In fairness to Mrs. O'Leary, the *Times* declared that it would also present her side of the story. But her side was even more fraudulent. The *Times* claimed that one of its reporters found Mrs. O'Leary "sitting on the front steps of her house...bent forward, and her head resting on her hands. She was rocking to and fro, moaning and groaning, and crying aloud after the manner of her country-women when in great trouble. At first, she refused to speak one word about the fire, but only screamed at the top of her voice, 'My poor cow. My poor cow.'"

The *Times* continued: "On Sunday night, about 9½ o'clock, she took a lamp in her hand and went out to have a look at her pet. Then she took a notion the cow must have some salt, and she sat down the lamp and went in the house for some. In a moment, the cow had accidentally kicked over the lamp, an explosion followed, and in an instant the structure was involved in flames."[14]

During an interview for another Chicago paper, Mrs. O'Leary complained that the story in the *Times* was a lie.[15] The second interview appeared in the *Journal* and seems genuine. The statements it attributes to Mrs. O'Leary seem accurate, except for her description of a stranger suspected of causing the fire. Other sources never mention the stranger. The *Journal's* interview used this question-and-answer format:

Reporter: Are you the lady of the house?
Mrs. Leary: I am, sir.
Reporter: Have you lived here long?
Mrs. Leary: Going on five years.
Reporter: Do you own this place?
Mrs. Leary: I do.
Reporter: Did the fire start in your barn?
Mrs. Leary: It did.
Reporter: What was in it?

Mrs. Leary: Five cows, a horse, and about two tons of hay in the loft.

Reporter: Is your husband an expressman?

Mrs. Leary: Indade, he is not. We all knocked out our living out of those five blessed cows, and I have never had a cint from the parish in all my life, and the dirty *Times* had no business to say it, bad cess to it.

Reporter: How about that kerosene-lamp story?

Mrs. Leary: There wis not a word of truth in the whole story. I always milked my dow cows by daylight, and never had a lamp of any kind or a candle about the barn. It must have been set afire. Two neighbors at the far end of the alley saw a strange man come up about half-past 9 in the evening. He asked them was the alley straight through. They told him it was, and he went through. It was not five minutes till they saw the barn was on fire. Before we had time to get out the horse or any of the cows it was all gone, and the fire was running in every direction. The boys turned to and saved the house. I hope to die if this isn't every word of it true. If you was a priest, I wouldn't tell it any different.

Five days earlier, a New York daily had published a similar story. On October 13, the New York *World* had reported that Mrs. O'Leary was a welfare recipient and that the county stopped her payments after learning she owned six cows. The *World* added: "She was in the habit of visiting her cows every evening. On Saturday night, she took a lamp in her hand and went out to the barn. Then she wanted some salt from the house, and she sat the lamp down to go after it. A moment later the barn was in flames."[16]

There may be a logical explanation for the stories' similarities. Reporters in the West often supplemented their incomes by working as correspondents for newspapers in the East, and Wilkie may have written the story that appeared in the *World*. When his regular employer—the Chicago *Times*—finally resumed publication on October 18, Wilkie may have included the same "facts" in the first story he wrote for it.

Informing the Nation

The Chicago fire excited the nation. The Milwaukee *Sentinel* estimated that 6,000 to 7,000 people gathered at the train depot there to greet friends and relatives fleeing Chicago. People also wanted to talk with individuals who had witnessed the fire. Editors in New York placed bulletin boards outside their offices and posted the latest news on them. Thousands of people pressed around the bulletin boards and then wandered from office to office to obtain more details.

The first bulletins reported that Chicago was doomed. Then tension mounted because the bulletins stopped. At 7 a.m. Tuesday, the Associated Press reported that it had not received any information from Chicago for more than twelve hours.

Typically, the Atlanta *Constitution* published a brief story about the fire on Monday and then added, "It will be almost impossible to get

any reliable detailed particulars for some time...." Two days later, the Atlanta *Constitution* complained that details were still difficult to obtain. It explained that flames had forced telegraph operators to abandon the Western Union office in Chicago. By Wednesday, the fire had been extinguished. But the *Constitution* declared: "The whole city is threatened. The panic is increasing." Its story, obviously several days old, continued, "It is reported that all hope of saving the city has been given up—that it is doomed."[17]

Newspapers' style of writing added to the confusion. Newspapers received dozens of short bulletins about the fire, and most newspapers published the bulletins in chronological order. A single column often contained ten or fifteen bulletins, including some that were old, mistaken, and inconsistent.

The New York *Times* employed its own correspondent in Chicago, and a bulletin it received at 2:10 a.m. Monday warned, "The flames are raging with increased fury in every direction, and God's mercy can only save the city from utter destruction."[18]

The *Times*' correspondent may have risked his life to transmit the bulletin. He explained: "A raging, roaring hell of fire envelopes 20 blocks of the city. It is already within a block of the telegraph office where this dispatch is written, sweeping onward a whirlwind of flames against which human efforts are powerless, and it is impossible to tell where it will stop.

On Tuesday, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* blamed Mrs. O'Leary's cow for the fire. A front-page story reported, "The fire broke out on the corner of DeKoven and Twelfth streets, at about 9 o'clock on Sunday evening, being caused by a cow kicking over a lamp in a stable in which a woman was milking."[19]

By 1871, the Associated Press had begun to telegraph news stories to hundreds of newspapers. As a result, identical stories (and errors) appeared in many of them. Both the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and the New York *Times* reported that Chicago was an "indescribable scene of terror and devastation" and that, "Almost everybody—men, women, and children—are in the streets, and weeping and wailing are heard in every direction."

Similarly, an "Extra" published that Monday afternoon by the *Daily Picayune* in New Orleans reported that flames threatened to destroy Chicago. On Tuesday it declared, "All is terror." Three-fourths of the city was destroyed, 150,000 people were homeless, and the flames were out of control. Inconsistently, another bulletin on the same page reported that the fire was under control.

On Wednesday the *Daily Picayune* announced: "The origin of the fire was in a stable where a woman, with a kerosene lamp, went to milk a cow."[20] A later bulletin disagreed; it insisted, "Late on Sunday, a boy went into a stable, on DeKaven Street, near the river, on the West Side, to milk a cow, carrying with him a kerosene lamp, which was kicked over by the cow, and the burning fluid scattered among the straw. This was the beginning of the fire."[21]

In Louisville, Kentucky, the *Courier-Journal* reported: "A boy went into a stable on DeKeen Street, near the river, on East Side, to milk a cow, carrying with him a kerosene lamp; this was kicked over by the cow, and the burning fluid scattered among the straw. This was beginning of a great fire."[22] The New York *Times* published a similar story and explained that it had been "especially prepared for the Associated Press by those who witnessed and fought the flames."[23]

The following Sunday, the *Daily Picayune* reported two new theories. First, boys playing with matches might have started the fire. Second, a gentleman positively asserted that the fire was started by "the explosion of a coal oil lamp."[24]

In addition to describing the fire, newspapers described and encouraged efforts to help the survivors. Editorials called the fire "a national misfortune" and urged Americans everywhere to contribute money and supplies.

A few newspapers in the South were less charitable. A paper in Rushville, Indiana, said the fire helped compensate for the North's destruction of the South during the Civil War. Its story explained: "It was far different when Sherman's army desolated and destroyed the fairest region of the South, robbing and plundering, and burning as they went, leaving the people to starve; or, when Sheridan, a monster of cruelty, overran and destroyed the valley of Virginia...."[25]

The Rushville paper also complained that Northern raids during the Civil War had destroyed more property and killed more people than the Chicago fire, yet Northerners had rejoiced when they heard the news.

News of "Atrocities"

Every newspaper that reported the fire published some exaggerated or inaccurate stories. But some newspapers published more than others. The most sensational and inaccurate stories seemed to appear in the Boston *Daily Evening Transcript* and in the New York *World*.

The *Daily Evening Transcript* estimated that 500 persons burned to death and that hundreds more were trampled in the rush to escape.[28] It added that some firemen had died, that a wagon full of bodies had been driven through Chicago's streets, that arsonists were setting new fires in Chicago, and that, "Seven or eight have been hung or shot at sight."[27]

On Wednesday the *Transcript* reported, "Two friends caught in the act of firing a house on the West Side were arrested and immediately hung to lamp posts—one on Fifteenth Street, near the river, and the other, 3 miles away, on Claiborne Avenue, North Side."[28]

The *Transcript's* most sensational story reported that seventy convicts died in a Chicago prison. The story explained: "A large number of people gathered about the building and clamored for the turnkey to release the prisoners. He showed himself and said the building was perfectly fire-proof, and no harm could result to the confined, and he should not release the convicts. Soon the building was

enveloped in flames."[29] Other sources said all the prisoners escaped.[30]

The New York *World* seemed to give all the information it received to its most imaginative editor. He combined the information in a single story and used his imagination to fill in the gaps. The *World* reported that Chicago had disappeared into a sea of fire. That little children "whimpered with terror." That half-naked women were running and screaming through the city's streets. And that, "Those who were strongest and most cowardly knocked the others down in their delirium; men, women, and children were trampled upon by human hordes that fled without reason hither and thither, uttering the most pitiful groans and cries of distress."[31] The *World* added that arson, rape, and even murder were common; thus, "it was found necessary to form vigilance committees who promptly disposed of the culprits...." The *World* claimed that even the soldiers guarding Chicago refused to arrest criminals. Instead, soldiers "shot them on the spot."

Other newspapers exaggerated the number of dead. Some newspapers reported that searchers found 120 bodies in ashes. Others reported that searchers found 250 bodies. Still others estimated that 1,500 people were dead.[32]

Newspapers reported dozens of other horror stories. Some may be true, but most seem exaggerated, or even totally fictitious:

The London *Times* reported that "crowds of starving people threatened a riot."[33]

The *Daily Picayune* reported, "Rooms which rented last week for $50 now command $5,000."

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* reported that a gentleman offered $5 for a drink of water but was unable to obtain it.

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* also reported that thieves blew open safes in the ruins and that other scoundrels set new fires to hide their crimes.[34]

The Boston *Daily Evening Transcript* reported that some persons jumped from upper windows, and that parents tied their babies into beds, then threw the beds out windows.[35]

The *Courier-Journal* reported: "On Chicago Avenue, a father rushed upstairs to carry three children away, when he was overtaken by flames and perished with them. The mother was afterward seen on the streets, on the North and West sides, a raving maniac."[36]

There were some looting and considerable drunkenness in Chicago that week. Saloon keepers rolled barrels of alcohol into the streets in an effort to save them, and people helped themselves. Criminals looted abandoned homes and stores, and some teamsters demanded exorbitant fees from people anxious to save their belongings. But the number of crimes and the number of criminals killed by the mob were greatly exaggerated.

Gen. Philip Sheridan commanded the military district that included Chicago, and he immediately dispatched soldiers to maintain peace and order. On Oct. 12, Sheridan reported to Chicago's mayor: "I am happy to state that no case of outbreak or disorder has been reported.

No authenticated attempt at incendiarism has reached me, and the people of the city are calm, quiet, and well-disposed." Despite Sheridan's statements, the rumors continued. On Oct. 17, he again reported: "There has been no case of violence since the disaster of Sunday night and Monday morning. The reports in the public press of violence and disorder here are without the slightest foundation. There has not been a single case of arson, hanging, or shooting—not even a case of riot or street fight."[37] The New York *Times* agreed. It reported: "The city is still disorganized but not disorderly. The stories which have been telegraphed of attempted incendiarism and lynchings are pronounced by Gen. Sheridan to be fabrications, and no substantiated cases of such outrage can be found."[38]

The Reasons for Inaccuracy

Why were so many stories about the fire so sensational and inaccurate?

No single source knew the entire story. Instead, reporters had to piece the story together, obtaining some details from one source, other details from a second source, and additional details from other sources. Many of the sources were tired, frightened, and confused. Under the circumstances, some exaggerations and rumors were inevitable. Journalists had no way of determining which details were true and which were false. Even the most accurate details may have seemed true because they were provided by normally reliable sources or because they contained familiar names and other specific and seemingly believable facts. Moreover, the journalists themselves may have been exhausted—and overcome by the enormity of the story they were covering.

To reduce its telegraph bills, the Associated Press seems to have transmitted skeletonized stories that contained only a few key words. Some editors published the skeletonized stories. Others tried to fill in the missing words—or combined and rewrote all the information they received. So hundreds of newspapers received identical bulletins, but the stories they published rarely remained identical. The punctuation, the wording, even some "facts" changed. Because of typographical errors, so did many spellings.

Despite the problems, Americans had to rely upon their local newspapers. People in other cities were unable to see and judge the scene for themselves. They received no picture magazines. No newsreels. No radio. No television. Moreover, historians have been unable to find a single photograph taken during the fire. Some photographs may have been lost or destroyed. Or the primitive techniques available at that time may have made it too difficult (and dangerous) to photograph the bright flames, particularly at night. Some sketches and paintings drawn afterward portray Mrs. O'Leary as a witch, surrounded by rats and black cats. Others portray her as a devil, with horns and a tail.

On Oct. 3, the Chicago *Times* published a story so bizzare that the newspaper's own editors admitted it might be false. The story claimed that Communists had started the fire. The *Times* said it had received a complete confession from one of the conspirators but published his confession "without the expression of any opinion as to its authenticity."[39]

The conspirator said he was a member of the Societe Internationale, and that two Communists from Paris helped him establish a branch in Chicago. They wanted to promote Communistic sentiments among the masses in Chicago: "to elevate working-men to the level of the rich" so everyone would "enjoy equal benefits, and poverty would be unknown."

For two months, the society tried to stir up trouble between the city's laborers and their employers. After failing, one of the conspirators suggested burning the city's business district. On Oct. 8, they ignited a half-dozen petroleum mines. When flames reached the Chicago River, they set off more mines on the opposite side. Parts of the city might have escaped, but their colleagues were everywhere. One, pretending to save some household goods, rushed inside an abandoned building. Moments later, "The rear of the building became a mass of flame, and a gust of wind carried it eastward....over the district that had thus far been spared, thus completing the universal ruin."

Why did the Chicago *Times* publish the story? It was an exclusive and sensational story, and the *Times* was a sensational newspaper. One of its reporters may have written the story. Or someone may have given it to a reporter, insisting that it was true.

On Nov. 15, the Chicago *Tribune* complained that the city's Board of Police and Fire Commissioners failed in its duty to investigate and to report on the cause and progress of the fire. So the *Tribune* started its own investigation. It began by sending a reporter to interview the fire marshal and his assistants. Nine days later, the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners announced that it would investigate the fire. One of its first witnesses was Catherine O'Leary.

Earlier (and mistakenly), the Chicago *Times* described Mrs. O'Leary as a seventy-year-old hag. During the November hearings, the *Times* reported that Mrs. O'Leary appeared before the board with a baby in her arms. It added, "She is a tall, stout, Irish woman, with no intelligence, and acted as if she believed the city wanted her to pay every cent of the losses created by the fire."[40]

Mrs. O'Leary testified that she, her husband, and all their children were in bed when the fire started. She added that the McLaughlins, who rented the front half of the home, had a party that night. Mrs. O'Leary did not know how many persons attended the party, or who they were, or when they left. None of her family attended. After the fire, a neighbor told Mrs. O'Leary that a guest at the party had gone to the barn to get some milk and carried a lantern. However, Mrs. O'Leary said she had not seen anyone and could not swear the story

was true.

Mrs. McLaughlin testified that five young men and two women, including a relative who had just arrived from Ireland, attended the party. Her husband played two tunes on his fiddle, but there was little dancing. Mrs. McLaughlin said she heard someone cry "Fire," then looked outside and saw the O'Leary's barn in flames. Her guests were still in the house; none had gone out to get milk for punch because she never served punch. However, someone may have gone out once or twice for some beer.

The Chicago *Times* described Patrick O'Leary as a fast talker and a "stupid looking type of man" who could not read or write. O'Leary testified that his wife had gone to bed at about 8 p.m., and he followed her half an hour later. When awakened, O'Leary put their children into the street, then helped save their house by climbing on the roof and throwing water on it until after 1 a.m.

One of the last witnesses was Daniel "Peg Leg" Sullivan, a neighbor with a wooden leg.[41] Sullivan said he had gone to the O'Leary's home at about 8 p.m., and Mrs. O'Leary was already in bed. He was told that she had hurt her foot. After a short visit, Sullivan started for home. He stopped to fill his pipe and sat down on a curb to enjoy it. As he sat directly opposite the O'Leary's, Sullivan noticed flames in their barn. He hobbled across the street, crying "Fire" as loudly as he could. The barn door was open, and he ran inside, but saved only a half-burned calf.

Sullivan and another witness testified that they saw Patrick and Catherine O'Leary come outside after being awakened by the clamor. Sullivan added that he had not seen anyone leave the McLaughlin's party but would have noticed anyone who had.

On Dec. 11, the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners issued its report. It had heard fifty-one witnesses and had taken more than 900 pages of sworn testimony. The board concluded that the fire started in the O'Leary's barn and that the "fire was first discovered by a drayman by the name of Daniel Sullivan, who saw it while sitting on the sidewalk on the south side of DeKoven Street, and nearly opposite O'Leary's premises." Sullivan fixed the time at between 9:20 and 9:25 p.m. However, the board was unable to determine what caused the fire. It explained:

> There is no proof that any persons had been in the barn after nightfall that evening. Whether it originated from a spark blown from a chimney on that windy night, or was set on fire by human agency, we are unable to determine. Mr. O'Leary, the owner, and all his family, prove to have been in bed and asleep at the time. There was a small party in the front part of the O'Leary's house, which was occupied by Mr. McLaughlin and wife. But we failed to find any evidence that anybody from McLaughlin's part of the house went near the barn that night.[42]

Thus, no one disputed the fact that the O'Learys were in bed when the fire started. Common sense also exonerates Mrs. O'Leary. If Mrs. O'Leary had gotten out of bed and gone to the barn, Sullivan would have seen her. And if she had started the fire, she almost certainly would have called for help. The five cows in the barn helped support her family. Because of their value, Mrs. O'Leary was unlikely to start a fire, then quietly return to bed—without calling for help, without trying to save the cows, without trying to extinguish the flames. She had nothing to gain. None of the O'Learys' property was insured. And, at the moment the fire started, she could not have known that it would spread to any other buildings.

By Oct. 27, the Chicago *Tribune* reported, "There have been not less than 900 causes assigned for the Chicago conflagration." Most people blamed "the wrath of God" but disagreed about why God was mad at Chicago.[43] A Methodist minister suggested it was because Chicago's voters had approved some new liquor laws.

A Minnesota reformer named Ignatius Donnelly offered the most unusual theory. Donnelly explained that a comet had passed over the Midwest thousands of years earlier and had created new, flamable elements in the soil. Other persons insisted that the houses in Chicago had been built of a limestone that contained oil, and that oil ignited.

The most popular theories involved an angry cow. People explained that someone disturbed the cow several hours past its normal milking time, and that the angry cow kicked over a kerosene lamp. But who disturbed the cow? There were several suspects. Catherine or Patrick O'Leary might have gone to the barn for milk, or to care for a sick cow. Someone at the McLaughlin's party might have slipped into the barn to get fresh milk for a punch or oyster stew. Or the patrons at a nearby tavern might have needed some milk for one of their drinks.

One of the O'Leary's sons, Big Jim O'Leary, became a famous gambler and politician. Big Jim O'Leary admitted that the fire started in his family's barn. But O'Leary blamed tramps or neighborhood boys who were smoking. O'Leary said his mother blamed a neighbor's carelessness (probably the McLaughlin's). Other persons blamed spontaneous combustion in the hayloft.

A Reporter's Hoax?

Five sources say a newspaper reporter created the story about Mrs. O'Leary's cow. Their stories are consistent; however, all their stories were published years after the fire, and none cite a verifiable source. Morever, other evidence contradicts their stories.

John McPhaul, author of one of the best books about Chicago journalism, says, "The legend of Mrs. O'Leary had its start the night of the fire." According to McPhaul, a correspondent for the New York *Herald* wrote a story that quoted Mrs. O'Leary. His story insisted that "she had gone to the shed to give salt to an ailing cow, and the animal had kicked over a kerosene lamp."[44]

A book about the Chicago *Tribune* agrees that, "The correspondent

of the *Herald* said the fire began when Mrs. O'Leary went out to milk her cow, which kicked over a lantern."[45] Similarly, a third source declares that the fire started in Mrs. O'Leary's cowshed "several hours after she had milked the cow, which, according to a reporter's fabrication that gained universal acceptance, kicked over a kerosene lamp."[46]

The fourth source identifies the reporter: Michael Ahern. It adds that Ahern "admitted that he made up the whole story to add color to his account of the fire."[47]

The fifth source provides a slightly different account. It states: "The last survivor of the group which reported the Chicago fire of 1871 admitted, shortly before his death, that Mrs. O'Leary's cow had not kicked over the lantern. The fire had started from spontaneous combustion in a hayloft, but a fretful Bossie seemed to the reporters a more picturesque origin of the disaster[48] The fifth account suggests that several reporters, not Ahern alone, helped create the story.

Despite their claims, the *Herald* seems to have been one of the last newspapers to mention Mrs. O'Leary's cow—not the first. On Monday, the *Herald* reported, "The fire started in a row of two-story wooden tenements on DeKoven Street."[49] Its story was skimpy, probably because the fire destroyed the telegraph lines leading into Chicago. Because the lines were down, it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, for Ahern to transmit his story to the *Herald* that night.

The *Herald* did not mention the cow until Wednesday. Even then, it failed to mention Mrs. O'Leary. Instead, the *Herald* reported that the fire started when a boy went to a stable to milk his cow. Later on the same page, the *Herald* reported for the second time that a boy went into a stable "to milk a cow, carrying with him a kerosene lamp. This was kicked over by the cow, and the burning fluid scattered among the straw. This was the beginning of the great fire."[50] That story, like most of the others published by the *Herald*, seems to have been provided by the Associated Press, not by its own correspondent in Chicago.

The *Evening Journal* was published in Chicago that Monday, and it immediately reported that, "The fire broke out...at about 9 o'clock on Sunday evening, being caused by a cow kicking over a lamp in a stable in which a woman was milking." Its story—not a story in the *Herald*—seems to have been the first to mention Mrs. O'Leary's cow.[51] Newspapers in other cities began to publish similar stories the following day; however, some admitted copying the *Evening Journal*.[52]

The reporters in Chicago undoubtedly knew and often saw one another. During the fire, they may have met in the telegraph office (or at a popular saloon). Several reporters may have heard a picturesque rumor, started by someone else, and all the reporters may have included that rumor in their stories, and reported it as fact. Or, Michael Ahern may have worked for the *Evening Journal*—or for some other Chicago daily- and supplemented his income by serving as a correspondent for a New York daily. If so, Ahern may have submitted

his story to the Chicago paper before transmitting it to New York. A correspondent for the Associated Press may have seen the story in one of the papers, copied it, then transmitted it to hundreds of other papers. Mistakenly, readers who saw the story in a New York paper may have assumed that it appeared there first. Or years later, while describing the fire and his coverage of it, Ahern may have exaggerated (or lied), claiming credit for a story started by someone else.

Regardless of the story's source, it was a fanciful tale. After it appeared in a major daily, it was certain to be noticed and copied—and to be believed by millions of Americans.

NOTES

[1]Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: The Rise Of A Great American Newspaper* (Chicago, 1979), p. 233.

[2]Robert Cromie, *The Great Chicago Fire* (New York, 1958), p. 9.

[3]*The Great Chicago Fire of 1871: Three Illustrated Accounts From Harper's Weekly* (Ashland, 1969), p. 7.

[4]"That Cow," Chicago *Times*, Oct. 23, 1871, p. 3.

[5]John R. Chapin, Letter to the editor, *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 28, 1871.

[6]Robert P. Howard, *Illinois: A History of the Prairie State* (Grand Rapids, 1975), p. 348.

[7]Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (New York, 1970), p. 101.

[8]"Accounts By Mail," *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1871, p. 1.

[9]"The West Side," Chicago *Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[10]Justin E. Walsh, *To Print The News And Raise Hell!* (Chapel Hill, 1968), p. 228.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]"The Fire," Chicago *Times*, Oct. 18, 1871, p. 1.

[13]Copies of the Chicago *Times* are available on microfilm, but portions of its story about the fire are virtually unreadable. Persons using a magnifying glass can decipher most of the words but must guess at or omit some. As a consequence, accounts of the story quoted or reprinted elsewhere are likely to contain slight variations.

[14]"The Fire," Chicago *Times*, Oct. 18, 1871, p. 1.

[15]Louis Synder and Richard Morris, eds., *A Treasury of Great Reporting*, 2nd. ed. (New York, 1962), pp. 187-188.

[16]"The Welcome Rain/Demand for Hotels/Newspaper Enterprise/Depots and Cars Burned/Origin of the Fire," World, Oct. 13, 1871, p. 1.

[17]"Latest News From Chicago," Atlanta *Constitution*, Oct. 11. 1871.

[18]"Fires In Chicago," New York *Times*, Oct. 8, 1871. p. 1.

[19]"The Destruction of Chicago," Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Oct. 10, 1871, p. 1.

[20]"Further Particulars of the Chicago Fire," *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]"Worse and Worse," *Courier-Journal*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[23]"The Ruined City," New York *Times*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[24]"Chicago," *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 14, 1871, p. 3.

[25]"Why She Was Burned—A Rebel View," from the Rushville *American*, reprinted in *Chicago and the Great Conflagration* Elias Colbert and Everett Chamberlin (Cincinnati, 1871), pp. 521-522.

[26]"The Fire Extinguished," Boston *Daily Evening Transcript*, Oct. 11, 1871.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]"The Chicago Fire," Boston *Daily Evening Transcript*, Oct. 11, 1871.

[29]"Seventy Prisoners Burned To Death," *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1871.

[30]Howard, *Illinois: A History of the Prairie State*, p. 348.

[31]"The City Burned," *World*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[32]Wayne Andrews, *Battle for Chicago* (New York, 1946), p. 58.

[33]"The Great Fire At Chicago," *Times*, Oct. 12, 1871, p. 5.

[34]"The Great Conflagration," Milwaukee *Sentinel* Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[35]"Arrivals From Chicago," Boston *Daily Evening Transcript*, Oct. 11, 1871.

[36]"Worse and Worse," *Courier-Journal*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 1.

[37]*The Great Chicago Fire of 1871*, p. 11.

[38]"The City at Present," New York *Times*, Oct. 14, 1871, p. 1.

[39]"A Startling Story," Chicago *Times*, Oct. 23, 1871, p. 1.

[40]"How They Look And Act," *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1871, p. 1.

[41]Some newspapers spelled his name "Danile." Others said it was "Dennis" or "Denis," spelled with only one "n." Similarly, some newspapers spelled Mrs. O'Leary's first name differently.

[42]"Police And Fire," Chicago *Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1871, p. 4.

[43]"How It Burned," *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1871, p. 2.

[44]John McPhaul, *Deadlines & Monkeyshines* (Westport, 1962), p. 63.

[45]Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: The Rise Of A Great American Newspaper*, p. 236.

[46]*Collier's Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6 (New York, 1979), pp. 213-214.

[47]Tom Burnam, *The Dictionary of Misinformation* (New York, 1975), p. 161.

[48]Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo* (New York, 1927), pp. 98-99.

[49]"Chicago In Flames," New York *Herald*, Oct. 9, 1871, p. 7.

[50]"Chicago," *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1871, p. 7.

[51]B.A. Botkin, *Sidewalks Of America* (Indianapolis, 1954), p. 197.

[52]"The Destruction of Chicago," Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Oct. 10, 1871, p. 1.

Media Coverage of a Silent Partner: Mamie Eisenhower as First Lady

By Maurine Beasley
and Paul Belgrade

Mamie Eisenhower, wife of the thirty-fourth President of the United States, presided over the White House from 1953 to 1961 during an era generally looked back on as a time of equanimity after the stresses of the post-World War II period. The apparent quietude of the period was deceptive, masking social currents that welled up into the activism of the succeeding decade. Nevertheless, as projected to the nation via the media of her day, predominantly newspapers and magazines, Mrs. Eisenhower herself helped symbolize the surface complacency of her husband's administration. She appeared to be the quintessential political wife, waving graciously and smiling at her husband's side. In public she embodied the traditional role expected of most American women during the 1950s—to be, above all, a devoted wife.

Mamie Eisenhower predated the era of professional image-making for First Ladies. As her obituary expressed it, she always was "content to be regarded primarily as a self-effacing helpmate rather than an influential behind-the-scenes adviser.[1] Yet by virtue of being First Lady, Mrs. Eisenhower was called upon to play a visible part in her husband's administration. This article attempts to examine her performance as a public figure measured by the media and to analyze the tensions involved between Mrs. Eisenhower's desire for personal privacy, on the one hand, and her wish to assist her husband, on the other, by performing in the public sphere.

The article is based on a conceptual framework that involves an illustration of (1) the symbiotic relationship between a woman

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newsmaker and the reporters who covered her and (2) the journalistic conventions of the day that tended to confine coverage of a woman to patriarchal stereotypes about a woman's supportive role and value to her husband in performing traditional domestic duties. In this connection, the article will use the critical claim that journalistic conventions worked in this case to limit public knowledge of Mrs. Eisenhower's conduct.[2] According to Stuart Hall, a British communications scholar, the stereotypes and ideology of a society's dominant culture are reinforced by the news media not through "manifest bias or distortion," but because journalists work from a "limited ideological matrix or net." Therefore, by journalistic custom, similar interpretations of events and people consistently recur in the media.[3]

The symbiotic relationship between Mrs. Eisenhower and the reporters who covered her chiefly involved women assigned to women's pages and society news. The task of deciding how much the public was told about Mrs. Eisenhower—and indeed, how much the public had a right to know about her—rested mainly with these individuals and their editors. Consequently the press coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower merits attention because it offers an opportunity to examine what the press in the 1950s depicted as representing appropriate performance by a First Lady and, by extension, acceptable conduct for American women.

Unfortunately Mrs. Eisenhower's papers are not open to researchers at this time, but information on her portrayal in the press has been obtained from examination of more than fifty newspaper and magazine articles, biographical accounts and the recollections of journalists who covered her as given in interviews.[4] Other references have been located in the diary of James C. Hagerty, Eisenhower's press secretary. In addition, Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, who handled press relations in her capacity as Mrs. Eisenhower's social secretary, has provided details in an interview on Mrs. Eisenhower's views of the press.[5]

Aside from her marriage to one of the outstanding figures of the mid-twentieth century, the facts of Mamie Eisenhower's life were not exceptional. Born November 14, 1896, in Boone, Iowa, Maria Geneva Doud- called Mamie from birth—was one of four daughters of a well-to-do meat packer, John S. Doud, and his wife, Elivera. Moving with her family to Denver, she ended formal education at Miss Wolcott's finishing school and became one of the city's most sought-after belles. On a visit to San Antonio, Texas, in 1915, she met Dwight David Eisenhower, then a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. The couple was married July 1, 1916, over the protests of her father, who thought his daughter was marrying beneath her station.[6]

The marriage spanned fifty-three years, including the death of their first child, Doud Dwight, in 1920 when he was three years old. It involved twenty moves in the United States and abroad as Eisenhower rose in the military to become the nation's most popular general

during World War II, later assuming the presidency of Columbia University and being named head of NATO. Her only surviving child, John, became an Army officer like his father. Outliving her husband by twelve years, Mrs. Eisenhower suffered a heart attack at the family farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the only home she and her husband ever owned, in September 1979. She died a few weeks later, on November 1—shortly before her eighty-third birthday.

Due to her husband's prominence, some controversy surrounded Mrs. Eisenhower's personal life. Rumors of scandal hovered about her for years, minimized by her conventional appearances in public. The rumors began during World War II when Eisenhower was in Europe as Supreme Allied Commander and she was living alone in a Washington hotel. Reports that she drank excessively circulated on the Washington scene, particularly after other persistent rumors cropped up that Eisenhower planned to divorce her to marry an Englishwoman, Kay Summersby, who had acted as his chauffeur and secretary during the war.[7]

Consequently at the time Eisenhower was being pushed as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1952, Mrs. Eisenhower was considered something of a questionable asset. Supporters of his chief rival for the nomination, Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft, circulated stories about Mrs. Eisenhower's alleged drinking, as well as smear brochures alluding to Eisenhower's alleged love affair with Summersby.[8] Merriman Smith, a correspondent for United Press, recalled standing near Eisenhower when a delegate to the Republican National Convention came up to the general and said, "...we're worried about your wife...We hear she's a drunk." According to Smith, Eisenhower, holding his temper by an heroic effort, blandly replied, "Well, I know that story has gone around, but the truth of the matter is that I don't think Mamie's had a drink for something like eighteen months."[9]

Smith did not write about the incident. Today, in an era when one former First Lady, Betty Ford, publicly announced that she had a drinking problem, it is likely that the delegate's question and Eisenhower's response would be front-page news. But during the 1950s, it was considered in poor taste to print such material, and no stories on Mrs. Eisenhower's alleged drinking appeared in the press, although rumors of her alleged alcoholism continued throughout the Eisenhower administration. The first public refutation was given by Mrs. Eisenhower herself in 1973 when she told Barbara Walters during a television interview she had known for years that people said that "I'm a dipsomaniac." She explained that she had an inner-ear ailment that caused her occasionally to walk unsteadily.[10]

Of even more interest to the anti-Eisenhower press was the rumor regarding Ike's relations with Summersby, a story some reporters pursued vigorously but were unable to pin down. Walter Trohan, a correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*, which backed Taft, unsuccessfully sought to obtain the diary of Gen. George S. Patton.[11] The

diary supposedly contained a copy of a message from Eisenhower delivered by Patton to Summersby informing her Eisenhower had decided not to divorce his wife. Throughout her life Mrs. Eisenhower never commented in public on the Summersby story, although her son, John, compiled a book of letters from his father to his mother, titled *Letters to Mamie*, in 1978 to disprove charges of infidelity.

Because of the rumors that surrounded her, Mrs. Eisenhower could have been depicted as something of a passive martyr, holding on to her husband in spite of his interest in another woman and submitting to an unwelcome fate which thrust her into the limelight. Coverage of her, however, emphasized positive aspects, such as her bubbling personality and spontaneous charm, and not her lack of initial interest in the White House. Her granddaughter-in-law, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, noted, "When in 1952, Ike chose a way of life that would mean permanent fame and entail constant press attention...Mamie was not enthusiastic. She had never been an ambitious woman."[12] In fact Mrs. Eisenhower had never been interested in politics. She had not voted in a national election before 1948, indicating both her disinterest in political affairs and her view that her husband's military status removed them both from political participation.[13] As far as is known, she never endeavored to give Eisenhower political advice.

Thus Mrs. Eisenhower was relatively unaccustomed to and unprepared for her dealings with the news media during Eisenhower's first presidential campaign in 1952, although she had experienced some contact with women reporters during her war years in Washington. Among them was Malvina Stephenson, then a correspondent for the Kansas City *Star*, which took a special interest in the general because his boyhood home was in Abilene, Kansas.[14] According to Stephenson, Mrs. Eisenhower became far more aloof and inaccessible after she entered the White House.[15]

Dealing with the press en masse, rather than with a single reporter, proved a taxing experience for Mrs. Eisenhower, although by accounts at the time she handled herself well. Her first encounter with the press corps offered a baptism by fire. Scheduled to meet some seventy-five women reporters at an off-the-record reception during the Republican national convention in July 1952, she found herself the center of a brawling mob as men reporters invaded the room, accompanied by photographers, and tangled with women reporters, who were determined to interview her.[16] Nevertheless, she managed to answer questions on topics such as whether the general whistled when he shaved and how often she took care of her grandchildren.[17]

During the campaign, conducted primarily by train, Mrs. Eisenhower was mentioned positively, if rather infrequently, as a help to her husband in attracting voters. *Life* magazine proclaimed "Ike's unassuming wife has become a bright star on the back platform show."[18] *Life* reporter Robert Wallace found she magnetized crowds and quoted the New York *Times*' top political reporter, James Reston, as estimating, "Mamie must be worth at least 50 electoral votes."[19] In

contrast to the family scene presented by Eisenhower and his wife, Eisenhower's Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, who was divorced, had no helpmate at his side to woo voters.[20]

Noting with approval Mamie's disinclination to make headlines, *Life* compared her favorably with Bess Truman, then the First Lady. "She will have all the highly commendable dignity of Bess Truman enlivened with a touch of Ethel Merman on the side," Wallace wrote, referring to Mrs. Eisenhower's folksy manner, youthful hair style—bangs were her trademark— and "attractiveness and humor."[21] The staunchly Republican magazine avoided comparing Mrs. Eisenhower with the activist Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Truman's predecessor, who had used the position of First Lady to push for humanitarian reforms and who had been seen as a person in her own right. Indeed, a caption under a picture of Mamie Eisenhower in *Life* summed up the prevailing tone of campaign coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower: "She sits quietly and always pays close attention to her husband's speech."[22]

For the most part, Mrs. Eisenhower was portrayed by the press as a personification of the feminine mystique, serving as ideal copy for women's pages and magazines which promoted the idea that she had, as she put it, "only one career and its name is Ike."[23] Feature stories from magazines and newspapers focused on her clothes, hair style, and manner as a hostess.[24] As an illustration of what it billed as Mrs. Eisenhower's "mind of her own," the *Woman's Home Companion* revealed Mrs. Eisenhower's preference for public beauty parlors in place of private hairdressing sessions. It added that Mrs. Eisenhower had "neither Mrs. Roosevelt's physical stamina nor cultural preparation," although it noted, "Yet she will never be content to emulate the quiet manner of Bess Truman...."[25]

After Eisenhower's smashing victory carried her into the White House in 1952, Mrs. Eisenhower initially attempted to play a somewhat more active role than Mrs. Truman, who had refused to hold press conferences and was rarely heard from in public. Within two months of the inauguration, Mrs. Eisenhower held a press conference, reinstituting a custom begun by Eleanor Roosevelt. Unlike Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Eisenhower allowed male as well as female reporters to cover the event, although the Secret Service laid down a "ladies first" rule requiring the forty-one men to let the thirty-seven women precede them into the room, and only one man reporter asked a question.[26] Video cameras were on hand, making the event the first press conference of a First Lady to be shown on the then-new medium of television.

It is doubtful the subject matter excited reporters of either sex. Mrs. Eisenhower, after posing for photographers, read a list of her planned activities and announced plans to revive the White House Easter egg roll and to spend Easter with her grandchildren. Most of the conference was devoted to questions about changes in the White House living quarters. Perhaps the most poignant note came when Mrs. Eisenhower volunteered she had opened the white drapes which

covered the White House windows—so she could see outside.[27]

In some ways Mrs. Eisenhower felt confined as First Lady. Although the press conference was hailed as a success—Bess Furman of the New York *Times*, for example, said Mrs. Eisenhower "demonstrated complete self-possession and a good grasp of the complex First Lady role"—Mrs. Eisenhower never held another one.[28] According to her secretary, Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, Mrs. Eisenhower did not enjoy the experience. In addition, Mrs. Monroe said, Mrs. Eisenhower's mother, Mrs. John Doud, who stayed at the White House, cautioned her daughter against being too much in the public eye, believing it was unladylike for a woman, even if she were First Lady, to be a public figure apart from her husband.[29]

"Mrs. Eisenhower didn't like being asked questions and being put on the spot," Mrs. Monroe recalled. Consequently Mrs. Eisenhower delegated to her the responsibility of seeing the press, first once a week and later less frequently, to make announcements and to release the social calendar. "She told me to cut it (press contact) down," Mrs. Monroe said. "Her mother lived with her, and she (her mother) didn't want too much publicity (for Mamie)." On the other hand, Mrs. Monroe recalled that Mrs. Eisenhower, known for her piquant, heart-shaped face and engaging smile, enjoyed being photographed and entertaining guests and liked having her activities as a hostess publicized.[30] Unlike other family members, she did not try to dissuade Eisenhower from seeking a second term following his first heart attack in 1955.

It was an era, unlike today, when a First Lady was not expected to show she was interested in worthy causes. Frances Lide, a Washington *Star* women's page reporter during the Eisenhower administration, recalled, "Mrs. Eisenhower undertook the role of presiding over the White House but did not undertake projects." The closest Mrs. Eisenhower came to a formal project was to oversee completion of a collection of White House china from different administrations, Lide added.[31] As Julie Nixon Eisenhower put it, "If Mamie Eisenhower were First Lady today, she would be a fish out of water, subject to pressure—which she would have resisted—to be involved in First Lady projects, to project a proscribed image."[32] She kept aloof from reporters and rarely gave interviews, which were foreign to what her granddaughter-in-law called her "come-sit-on-the-couch-and-chat-with-me nature."[33]

By the standards of today, when the press prides itself on vigorous journalism, reporters of the period appear somewhat lethargic in giving Mrs. Eisenhower bland coverage. Possibly their lack of aggressiveness was because Mrs. Eisenhower cooperated with the newswomen in publicizing themselves. Mrs. Eisenhower attended stunt parties sponsored by the Women's National Press Club and contributed a fudge recipe to a club cookbook. She also was involved in a reunion for sons and daughters of former Presidents organized by the Women's National Press Club. The event, held on April 30, 1959,

brought together the children of seven Presidents for a luncheon and tour of the White House conducted by Mrs. Eisenhower. Press coverage included nostalgic reminiscenses and amusing anecdotes told by the participants, who carefully avoided mention of partisan politics.[34]

According to Maxine Cheshire, then a reporter for the Washington *Post*, "No First Lady was ever as gently treated in print as Mamie Eisenhower." Cheshire attributed the press's performance to an "Emily Post approach to reporting about the occupants of the White House," which characterized the 1950s. Her biggest story about Mrs. Eisenhower for the *Post* was a "scoop" on locating where the First Lady bought evening slippers at a discount to have them dyed to match her gowns.[35]

Mrs. Eisenhower benefited generally from favorable press treatment of her husband's administration. In the opinion of both Cheshire and Jack Anderson, then Drew Pearson's assistant in the investigative column, *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, the press should have raised questions about Mrs. Eisenhower's acceptance of gifts from foreign governments. According to Anderson, "When Drew made so bold as to tweak Mamie Eisenhower for latching on to a diamond necklace from King Ibn Saud and a gold mesh bag from Emperor Haile Selassie so heavy she could hardly carry it around, the stories died the quick death of press neglect." Similarly, a Pearson story about the alleged influence-peddling of Mrs. Eisenhower's brother-in-law was quickly forgotten. Anderson attributed the lack of interest to the "pro-Eisenhower" tilt of eighty per cent of the press.[36]

Due partly to the rumors about her drinking, the press showed avid interest in Mrs. Eisenhower's health. News articles on the state of her health ran throughout both terms of Eisenhower's administration. The articles, while never referring specifically to her alleged drinking problem, went into considerable detail about even minor illness.[37]

Fifty-seven-years old when her husband was elected President, Mrs. Eisenhower was plagued by a heart murmur and subscribed to the theory "that every woman over 50 should stay in bed until noon." Accustomed to dealing with servants from her childhood days in Denver, Mrs. Eisenhower ran the White House from her bedroom, giving orders to staff members as she reclined in pink, ruffled bed jackets during the morning hours. This picture of Mrs. Eisenhower as a ruling matriarch was not presented to the public. Instead, she was portrayed in the press as a prototype Mrs. Average America, who resembled a congenial, but frail, suburban housewife.[38]

If reporters provided a mistaken impression of her, they may be excused in part by their inability to obtain accurate information after she curtailed press contacts, following the example of Mrs. Truman. In the opinion of some reporters, her secretary was far too protective. According to Isabelle Shelton, who covered the White House for the Washington *Star*, the secretary "didn't even give out weekly releases. With her it was sort of a catch-as-catch-can thing in which you had to

ask the right questions or lose the game."[39] Mrs. Monroe, on the other hand, saw her job as serving as "a buffer between Mrs. Eisenhower and the press."[40]

Frances Lewine, who covered the White House for the Associated Press during the Eisenhower era, recalled, "Mrs. Eisenhower was cordial and nice to the press, but kept them at arm's length." In Lewine's view, Mrs. Monroe's efforts were geared toward guarding Mrs. Eisenhower from direct press contact. Mrs. Monroe was merely carrying out Mrs. Eisenhower's wishes "to stay in the background of the White House," Lewine said.[41]

Eisenhower's able press secretary, James Hagerty, became involved in Mrs. Eisenhower's press relations only on rare occasions, chiefly those related to questions about her health. In March 1955, Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, declared that Eisenhower might decline to run for a second term because of newspaper reports that Mrs. Eisenhower's health was poor. Consulting Eisenhower on the comment, Hagerty decided not to answer the statement but to let Republicans in Congress denounce Butler for smearing the First Lady, which they promptly did.[42] The next month, Hagerty, responding to Eisenhower's concern over the issue, suggested that reporters not be told Mrs. Eisenhower was ill at the home in Gettysburg. "...I merely stuck to the story that she was at the farmhouse with some work in connection with the furniture and things moving in," he noted in his diary.[43] Concern over Mrs. Eisenhower's health reached the point where the President finally was forced to address the subject at a press conference, remarking, "She is, of course, not as robust and strong as some people, but she is a good healthy person...."[44]

During the 1956 re-election campaign and subsequent second term, press coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower continued in the same vein as during the first term. Bess Furman reported in the New York *Times* that Mrs. Eisenhower opened her second four years in the White House "with the situation well in hand"—in terms of ample rest, meticulous grooming (by this time she called hairdressers to come to the White House), and an extensive wardrobe.[45] In 1957, Mrs. Eisenhower participated in two events for Washington newswomen—a birthday party in her honor given by two clubs made up of women reporters and a subsequent tea for the press to express appreciation for the birthday party.[46]

Mrs. Eisenhower's conduct was questioned the following year, however, when Eisenhower's plane made a 3,000-mile detour to take her and several of her friends to Elizabeth Arden's health farm in Phoenix, Arizona. Once again Mrs. Eisenhower was rumored to be under treatment for alcoholism. Even the pro-Eisenhower press questioned the reason for the trip, although there was no open speculation on whether it was related to the alleged drinking problem. *Time* magazine asked, "Was Mamie getting the full waxworks?..." The White House and the Arden empire clammed up tight.[47] The incident

soon faded from public concern.

When Mamie Eisenhower left the White House in 1961, the Washington *Post* summed up her tenure in a story typical of those run on the departing First Lady: "...She has been a gracious and glamorous hostess, entertaining some 70 official foreign visitors— more than any of her predecessors— and doing it on a grander scale. ...Mrs. Eisenhower has endeared herself to millions by her devotion to her husband and family. ..."[48] Like others, the story depicted her as doting on her four grandchildren, frequent visitors to the White House.

Like many women who have figured in the news, Mamie Eisenhower was noteworthy only because of her satellite status in relation to a man of prestige and power.[49] Apparently she wanted herself viewed in public only as "Ike's wife." She exercised some control over her public portrayal if simply by refusing to see the press to the extent it desired. Thus, the media had relatively little choice except to accept Mrs. Eisenhower's public performance at face value. It appears they even exaggerated the traditional aspects of her role since Mrs. Eisenhower's public activities corresponded well with contemporary society's dominant stereotype of women.

By presenting an image of wifely subordination, Mrs. Eisenhower protected herself against vicious rumors regarding her drinking and marriage. This strategy allowed her to function quietly within the framework of her husband's political communication program. Yet Mrs. Eisenhower's media portrayal disguised a flesh-and-blood human being, said by intimates to be a forceful personality in her own right.[50] This raises the question of to what degree she and the press co-operated to make her a symbol of the stereotypical subordination of women.[51]

In the 1950s it still was possible for the public to accept a First Lady who confined her activities to providing hostess service in the White House, in spite of the energetic example of political activism set by Eleanor Roosevelt. Like Bess Truman, Mamie Eisenhower reverted to the traditional pattern of First Ladies who saw their duties as social and were covered in the press only in those terms.[52] As Frances Lide expressed it, "Mrs. Eisenhower's role was different from Eleanor Roosevelt's and different from what has become the pattern in recent years."[53]

Mrs. Eisenhower was succeeded by the glamorous Jackie Kennedy, who added to the public role of the First Lady by her interest in promoting the arts. After her, other First Ladies have been virtually forced by political expediency, if not personal preference, to have pet projects which have been given widespread media coverage. These include beautification (Lady Bird Johnson), volunteerism (Pat Nixon), the ERA (Betty Ford), mental health (Rosalyn Carter), and drug abuse (Nancy Reagan).

In retrospect Mamie Eisenhower's kid-glove treatment by the media represented a throwback to a previous era. The press delicately

avoided any mention of the gossip that surrounded her, although it could have brought into the open, and laid to rest, the rumors of her drinking. By focusing only on Mrs. Eisenhower as a hostess and self-effacing wife, the media failed to present her as an actual individual. The fact that the portrayal was rarely questioned demonstrated that journalists of the era tended to reinforce patriarchal stereotypes concerning suitable social roles for women.

NOTES

[1]Albin Krebs, "Mamie Eisenhower Dies in Sleep at 82 in Hospital in Washington," New York *Times*, Nov. 2, 1979, p. 1.

[2]Gertrude T. Robinson, "Women, Media Access and Social Control," in Laurily Keir Epstein, ed., *Women and the News* (New York, 1978), p. 105.

[3]Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society, and the Media*, ed. by Michael Gurevitch, et al. (London, 1982), p. 72.

[4]The authors are indebted, in particular, to Malvina Stephenson of the Stephenson News Bureau, for discussing her recollections of Mrs. Eisenhower on Oct. 27, 1983, in an interview at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C.

[5]The authors would like to thank Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, for providing a detailed look at Mrs. Eisenhower's press relations on Nov. 19, 1983, in an interview at the Washington Club, Washington, D.C.

[6]Krebs, p. B5.

[7]Lester and Irene David, *Ike and Mamie: The Story of the General and His Lady* (New York, 1981), pp. 160-61.

[8]Steven Neal, *The Eisenhowers: Reluctant Dynasty* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), p. 281.

[9]Merriman Smith, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas, as cited in Stephen Ambrose, *Eisenhower, Soldier, General* (New York, 1983), p. 532.

[10]Krebs.

[11]Walter Trohan, *Political Animals* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), p. 270.

[12]Julie Nixon Eisenhower, *Special People* (New York, 1977), p. 202.

[13]Rita Mae Kelly and Mary Boutilier, *The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict* (Chicago, 1978), p. 101.

[14]Interview with Malvina Stephenson, Oct. 27, 1983.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]Dorothy Brandon, "Mamie Doud Eisenhower: Portrait of a First Lady," New York *Herald Tribune*, n.d. (believed to be April 28, 1954), vertical file on Mamie Doud Eisenhower, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas. The clipping is from a series condensing a book by Brandon, *Mamie Doud Eisenhower: Portrait of a First Lady*.

[17]Brandon.

[18]Robert Wallace, "They Like Mamie, Too," *Life*, Oct. 13, 1952, p. 149.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 150.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 150, 158.

[21]*Ibid.*, p. 158.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 152.

[23]Gladys Engel Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image-Making in the News," in Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet, eds., *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* (New York, 1978), p. 152.

[24]The most comprehensive articles covered include: Nanette Kutner, "Mamie in the White House," *Woman's Home Companion*, July 1953, pp. 22-25; Ruth Montgomery, "Mamie," *Look*, Feb. 23, 1954, pp. 31-34; Isabel K. Griffin, "Why Mamie Rates Tops as a Hostess," Boston *Globe*, April 7, 1954, p.1, 14; Alden Hatch, "Red Carpet for Mamie," *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1954, pp. 38-41, plus; Bess Furman, "Mrs. Eisenhower Retains Role of 'Good Soldier' for General," New York *Times*, March 1, 1956, p.15; "Capital Homemaker," New York *Times*, Nov. 14, 1956, p.24; "A Rare Picture Visit: The First Lady at Home," *Life*, Oct. 20, 1958, pp. 60-65; Merriman Smith, "It's a Tough Job to Run the White House," *This Week* magazine, Oct. 11, 1959, pp. 14-15; Marie Smith, "Mamie Was Original Fun-Loving Hostess," Washington *Post*, Jan. 15,

1960, pp. F1, 9.

[25]Nanette Kutner, "Mamie in the White House," *Woman's Home Companion*, July 1953, pp. 24 and 82.

[26]Bess Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York *Times*, March 11, 1953, Box 40, Furman papers, Library of Congress.

[27]*Ibid.*.

[28]Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York *Times*, August 7, 1953.

[29]Interview with Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, Nov. 19, 1983.

[30]*Ibid.*

[31]Interview by Paul Belgrade with Frances Lide, Alexandria, Va., May 1, 1985.

[32]Eisenhower, *Special People*, p. 203.

[33]*Ibid.*

[34]See New York *Daily News*, May 23, 1954; Washington *Post*, May 23, 1954, p. 5S; Washington *Post*, May 20, 1955, p. 69; Washington *Star*, May 22, 1955, p. D1; Washington *Post*, Nov. 13, 1955, p. F1; Washington *Star*, Nov. 13, 1955. B1; Washington *Star*, May 1, 1959.

[35]Maxine Cheshire with John Greenya, *Maxine Cheshire, Reporter* (Boston, 1978), pp. 28, 30.

[36]Jack Anderson with James Boyd, *Confessions of a Muckraker* (New York, 1979), p. 320.

[37]See New York *Times* articles: Dec. 28, 1952, p. 3; March 10, 1955, p. 21; March 11, 1955, pp. 1, 6; March 12, 1955, p. 20; March 16, 1955, p. 20; May 1, 1955, p. 71; May 3, 1955, p. 53; May 5, 1955, p. 24; May 5, 1955, p. 20; May 13, 1955, p. 27; Feb. 26, 1957, p. 14; June 18, 1957, p. 35; Aug. 31, 1957, p.1; Aug. 7, 1957, pp. 1, 13; Nov. 7, 1959, p. 39.

[38]J.B. West with Mary Lynn Kotz, *Upstairs at the White House: My Life With the First Ladies* (New York, 1974), pp. 175, 129 and 131.

[39]Winzola McLendon and Scottie Smith, *Don't Quote Me: Washington Newswomen & the Power Society* (New York, 1970), p. 68.

[40]Monroe interview.

[41]Interview by Paul Belgrade with Frances Lewine, Washington, D.C., May 4, 1985.

[42]Diary of James C. Hagerty, entry for March 10, 1955, Box 1A, Hagerty papers, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas.

[43]Hagerty diary, entry for April 4, 1955, *ibid.*

[44]Text of President Eisenhower's press conference, New York *Times*, May 5, 1955, p. 20.

[45]Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York *Times*, Jan. 20, 1957, Box 40, Furman papers.

[46]Lewis L. Gould, "First Ladies and the Press; Bess Truman to Lady Bird Johnson," *American Journalism*, I (Summer 1983), p. 52.

[47]"The First Lady: Behind the Curtain," *Time* 78 (March 10, 1958), p. 14.

[48]Marie Smith, "Mamie was Original, Fun-Loving Hostess," Washington *Post*, Jan. 15, 1961, F1, 9.

[49]Lang, p. 148.

[50]Gould, p. 51.

[51]Introduction to section three, "Newspapers and Their Women's Pages," in Tuchman, Daniels and Benet, p. 143.

[52]Abigail Q. McCarthy, "ER as First Lady," in Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, eds., *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984), p. 220.

[53]Belgrade interview with Lide, May 1, 1985.

Conservation, Community Economics, and Newspapering: The Seattle Press and the Forest Reserves Controversy of 1897

By Stephen E. Ponder

For several months in 1897, the daily newspapers of Seattle campaigned against an executive order by President Grover Cleveland that stopped additional mining and logging on millions of acres of public domain land in Washington state. The newspapers warned that creation of new national forest reserves doomed the Pacific Northwest's prospects for economic development. But, in September, the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, the larger of the two daily newspapers and the one more vehemently opposed to the reserves, abruptly reversed its position. This article discusses the reasons for the reversal: intervention in the newspaper's editorial process by one of the community's primary economic leaders, personal advocacy of federal resource management by visiting forester Gifford Pinchot, and the publisher's determination to serve the commercial interests of the community. The study illustrates the complex political and economic influences on editorial policy-making on a developing daily newspaper in the late nineteenth century.

The influence of commercial priorities on the editorial and news content of industrialized newspapers that emerged during this period has long been a fertile field of inquiry. Initial establishment of newspapers in growing communities depended on local financial support. Profitability and survival were tied to revenues from retail advertising and marketing. Editors and reporters prepared news designed to attract readers who were also potential consumers of manufctured goods. Economic influences on news and editorial content were particularly evident in smaller cities and towns, where the voice of the local newspaper was likely to be that of the community booster, merchant, or local industrialist.[1]

STEPHEN E. PONDER (Ph.D., University of Washington) did his dissertation, from which this article was adapted, on news management during the Progressive period.

However, documenting specific instances of economic influence on particular news stories or editorial positions in nineteenth century newspapers can be difficult. Written records of the preparation of particular editorials or news stories are rarely available. Changes in content that infer economic pressure may lack verification from the newspaper records or personal manuscripts. In the case of Seattle, changes of newspaper content can be measured and motivations suggested through examination of the personal records of community leaders and those of Gifford Pinchot, the forester.

The economic future of Seattle, like that of other western communities in the late ninetenth century, was tied to development of natural resources found on public domain lands available for mining, lumbering, grazing, or other entrepreneurial activities. National policy after the Civil War was to make these lands generally available for use, although there were increasing complaints of speculation and fraud. Congress in 1891 empowered the president to set aside lands from public domain as reserves. By the end of 1892, President Benjamin Harrison had created the Yellowstone Forest Reserve and designated fifteen reserves totalling thirteen million acres, primarily to protect the watersheds of agricultural areas. The Harrison withdrawals were taken either at the request of individual states or involved areas with no commercial value. In Washington, withdrawal of nearly one million acres of land surrounding Mount Rainier, southeast of Seattle, was supported by industrial, commercial, and recreational interests. Among those in favor were the board of trustees of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the Commercial Club of Tacoma, local politicians, and one of the larger lumbering firms, the Kirkland Land and Lumber Co.

Harrison's successor, Grover Cleveland, added five million acres to the national forest reserves and then stopped, saying he would create no more until Congress passed a management plan. In 1896, Cleveland's Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, appointed a National Forest Commission to study reported misuse of the reserves and recommend a solution. The members, primarily natural scientists, took a rapid tour of the West in the summer of 1896 and agreed that another 21.2 million acres of public domain land should be declared off-limits to further development. Without public notice, Cleveland created the twenty-one proposed new reserves in a proclamation issued February 22, 1897, days before he left office.

In the region surrounding Seattle, Cleveland's order closed to new commercial activity more than eight million acres of land in the Olympic Peninsula and North Cascades mountain ranges. The three new reserves, Olympic, Washington, and an expanded Rainier reserve, included vast timberlands and thousands of existing mining claims, which were not directly affected. New claims were prohibited, however, in nearby gold prospecting areas.

Cleveland's action stunned Seattle community leaders. Commission members had neither visited Seattle nor publicized their deliberations;

so the president's order was a complete surprise. Seattle business leaders had hoped that mining and lumbering on public lands would bring economic recovery from a distastrous fire in 1889 and the financial panic of 1893. Five of Seattle's ten lumber mills burned in the fire, and rebuilding was slow. The beginning of transcontinental railroad service over the Great Northern Railroad in 1893 coincided with the collapse of anticipatory speculation and overbuilding. However, the city remained the headquarters of the timber industry in Washington state, where in 1895 there were 225 sawmills and 250 shingle mills. The mills were supplied, legally, only by trees cut from railroad grant lands and individual claims where the logging was necessary to clear the land for mining. But many of these claims were questionable, the Forestry Commission pointed out. Timber operators simply cut from the public domain without bothering with paperwork.[2]

The Seattle daily newspapers felt the community economic depression strongly. The daily *Post-Intelligencer*, the oldest newspaper in Seattle, still published despite a forced sale in 1894 when one owner, Leigh S.J. Hunt, suffered financial reverses in mining speculation. It changed ownership again in 1897 and in 1898. The *Post-Intelligencer* was the official Republican party organ. Its publisher, James D. Hoge, made such inflamatory attacks on Populists during the 1896 campaign that a mob gathered at the *Post-Intelligencer* offices and threatened to hang him. The other daily newspaper in Seattle was the *Daily Press-Times*, which had been brought from near-bankruptcy in the fall of 1896 by Alden J. Blethen. Blethen was nominally Democratic, and the renamed *Times* supported William Jennings Bryan in 1896. Although both newspapers were politically active, their survival depended on close ties to the Seattle economic community. The owners of the *Post-Intelligencer* in 1896 and 1897 were a part of a group of enterpreneurs with speculative interests in Washington and Alaska. George U. Piper, who took over ownership of the *Post-Intelligencer* from Hoge on September 1, 1897, told an interviewer:

> The paper will remain Republican in politics, but the commercial interests of Seattle will be first and politics second. We will endeavor at all times to be in touch with the business element. This will be our first aim.

The new owner of the *Times*, Blethen, bought his paper with the help of a loan from James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railroad. The *Times* frequently praised Hill in its editorials and described the railroad owner's visits to Seattle.[3]

The main hope of Seattle merchants, based on advertising in both newspapers from February to September 1897, was to supply equipment, clothes, and transportation to gold prospectors. Both newspapers ran weekly speculations on gold prospects in the North Cascades, British Columbia, and Alaska. Mining and extensive

prospecting had been under way on adjacent public domain lands since at least the 1880s. Hopes for the Monte Cristo gold fields had prompted the building of a smelter at Everett, Bellingham, the Canadian goldfields and Alaska, where major discoveries would, in fact, be made later in the year.[4]

Seattle in 1897 was a city dependent for commercial activity on industries based on the exploitation of natural resources from the public domain. Any restrictions on entrepreneurial access to these resources were unwelcome. This viewpoint was apparent in both the *Post-Intelligencer* and the *Times* before Cleveland's order of February 22, 1897. On February 2, a *Post-Intelligencer* editorial complained the federal government was unduly restricting access to public domain land, which, in the paper's view, the state of Washington only "lent" to the federal government when it joined the union in 1889. A February 16 editorial praised a report that the Northwest contained nearly half the remaining timber in the nation. "The timber business on this coast will have wonderful stimulus before long," the editorial predicted. On February 24, the *Post-Intelligencer* appealed for the building of a smelter in Seattle to capitalize on the anticipated gold bonanza. A half-column of the February 27 *Times* was devoted to a speculative report on the possible copper deposits on a shoulder of Mount Rainer.

Despite the apparent unanimity of the press and the merchant community on the need to increase exploitation of the public domain lands, a number of people in Seattle held different views on creation of the forest reserves. Recreationists were concerned about protecting scenic wildlands for travel or adventure. Several prominent Seattle residents were among fifty-seven members of the Mazamas, a Portland, Oregon, based mountaineering club that climbed Mount Rainer in July 1897. An article in the *Post-Intelligencer* which described their exploits noted the group attended a local social reception before the climb, where they were briefed on the forest reserves controversy by a representative of the U.S. Geological Survey. The article did not mention that the group also approved a resolution supporting the forest reserves.[5]

Besides the recreationists, there were lumbermen in Seattle who understood the advantages of more efficient use of forest resources. They were members of a branch of the American Forestry Association organized by the University of Washington faculty member Edmond S. Meany, who in 1894 began a course in forestry after hearing a lecture by Bernhard Fernow, then director of the U.S. Bureau of Forestry, at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Besides teaching forestry, Meany organized a Young Naturalists Society for students and the local Forestry Association. Members included John J. McGilvra, whom the federal government sent to Seattle in 1860 to prosecute timber poachers from the public domain; Addison G. Forster of the St. Paul and Minnesota Lumber Co.; Elsias Payn, an Olympia lumberman; and Judge Thomas Burke, whom one biographer called

"the man who built Seattle." Burke was a lawyer and speculator who helped persuade James J. Hill to make Seattle the Pacific terminus of the Great Northern Railroad. In the process, he became western counsel for Hill and was more than casually interested in the ownership of both Seattle newspapers. He helped Blethen get a loan from Hill to buy the *Times* in 1896. In 1898, he would similarly help Republican U.S. Senator John Wilson buy the *Post-Intelligencer*.[6]

The members of the Forestry Association reflected a particular view of forest reserves: their companies owned large amounts of timberlands through claims, purchases, or railroad land grants. Cleveland's order did not restrict use of their private holdings. However, by stopping the future cutting of trees from the public domain, it made their private forests the only source of timber for the mills and, therefore, more valuable. Thus, these large landowners were receptive to the idea of restrained use of the public domain and less alarmed about the creation of the forest reserves than the smaller businesssmen who did not have the private land holdings and were dependent on public domain timber for their livelihood.[7]

The presence of some community leaders in recreation and forestry groups notwithstanding, it seems unlikely there was widespread preservationist sentiment in Seattle in 1897. It was a depressed frontier community surrounded by undeveloped natural resources that needed only pluck and investment capital to bring to prosperity. Although there were prominent residents with a different view of the forest reserves than the commercial community, their views were not welcome to the boosters who supported both daily newspapers.

The news of Cleveland's orders first reached Seattle readers in the Sunday *Times* of February 28, six days after its signing. The editorial writers of both the *Times* and the *Post-Intelligencer* reacted strongly: "It comes near to being a national calamity," according to the *Times*. "The state is suffering from the consequences of an intolerable blunder," was the *Post-Intelligencer* response.[8]

By the time the first Associated Press dispatch reached Seattle, the debate was under way in Congress to overturn the president's order. Western senators led an immediate but unsuccessful attempt to overturn the Cleveland order by amendment or by impeaching the president in his last days in office. Sen. John Wilson of Washington succeeded in attaching a rider to reverse the order to a supplemental appropriations bill. The House substituted a milder version that allowed the cutting of timber to clear areas for mining. The substitution made no difference, because Cleveland pocket-vetoed the bill in one of his last actions as president. The reserves were allowed to stand, at least for the time being.[9]

The immediate reaction of outrage in the Seattle newspapers was followed by confusion because of the initial success, then failure, of congressional action. The Seattle Chamber of Commerce telegraphed a petition of protest against this "galling insult to local sovereignty." Senator Wilson placed the petition in the Congressional Record. The

Post-Intelligencer, underneath a premature headline "Reserves Knocked Out," reprinted a telegram from Wilson to publisher Hoge on the success of his amendement. Wilson served as the newspaper's Washington, D.C., correspondent on the controversy while the *Times* relied on its Associated Press franchise. Cleveland's pocket-veto did not become known in Seattle until after the inauguration of President William McKinley on March 5, 1897. McKinley promised to call Congress back into session on March 15, and both newspapers in Seattle began to abolish the reserves. In a March 5 editorial, the *Post-Intelligencer* said:

> This much is certain: as long as the reservation remains in force it will be difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to enlist any amount for the development of a single unpatented mine lying within the limits of the reservation.[10]

The *Post-Intelligencer* began daily exhortations of the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, the mining stock exchange, and other business organizations to back Senator Wilson's efforts in Washington, D.C. The differentiation between news and editorials was often unclear,as the lead of a front page story indicated:

> Unless the new administration takes prompt action, the forestry reserves proclamation will be in full force and effect, and its enforcement will operate as a direct calamity to the state of Washington.[11]

On March 7, the *Post-Intelligencer* carried a front page cartoon portraying former President Cleveland, carrying a shotgun, sitting on the back of a blindfolded donkey and blocking miners and lumbermen from going to work. On March 10, the paper began to reprint sympathetic editorials from out-of-state newspapers.

To encourage public opposition to the forest reserves, the *Post-Intelligencer* also began to reprint resolutions passed by chambers of commerce and boards of trade in Seattle and other communities near the Monte Cristo gold prospecting area. The newspaper served as an organizational focus for the commercial community opposing the reserves by sponsoring protest meetings, printing their times and locations, and then giving extensive coverage to the speakers at the meetings. The other daily newspaper, the *Times*, also opposed the reserves editorially and promoted the chamber of commerce campaign. Names of financial contributors were printed and praised.[13]

The campaign continued at least until June 4, 1897, when McKinley signed a bill that suspended creation of the reserves for nine months in all affected Western states except California. The new management plan allowed logging and mining under easily attained circumstances. The reserves were not abolished, as the newspapers had demanded, but new commercial activity was allowed under federal supervision.[14]

The Seattle newspapers grudgingly accepted the outcome. "This is Better," said a *Times* headline. A Post-Intelligencer editorial read: "...sentiment is such...in states which have been denuded of their forests and now bitterly repent the whole destruction that we can probably hope for no better terms."[15]

From February 22 to June 4 the two newspapers carried a total of eighty-three editorials, reprinted editorials, news stories, reprinted resolutions, and letters to the editor. Sixty (or 82 per cent) of the articles opposed the forest reserves or contained only criticism of President Cleveland. In the *Post-Intelligencer*, fifty-one of fifty-seven entries (89 per cent) opposed the reserves. Although the *Times* was less concerned with the controversy than its rival, nevertheless seventeen of twenty-six articles (65 per cent) opposed the reserves. Of thirty-two news articles that appeared in the *Post-Intelligencer*, only four contained information favorable to the reserves. Only one, a reprint of part of the Forestry Commission report, was wholly complimentary. Of non-editorial page articles in the *Times*, eight of nineteen contained favorable references; but only one—again, a reprint of the Forestry Commission report—was wholly favorable.

The overwhelming representation of both newspapers, particularly the *Post-Intelligencer*, was that public opinion in Seattle was opposed to the forest reserves. This view was that of the local commercial community, as reflected in the printed resolutions and speeches from chambers of commerce, boards of trade, political leaders, and the mining industry. Yet, according to contemporary accounts and private papers, there was significant support for the reserves, or at least the philosophy behind them, in the community. Those voices in the community who supported the reserves or planned use received only perfunctory treatment or criticism in the Seattle press.

Two letters to the editor favorable to the reserves were printed during the four-month period. One, from Addison G. Foster of the St. Paul and Minnesota Lumber Co., endorsed planned use of resources.[16] In the other, Willis Bailey, a U.S. Geological Survey scientist who in 1897 completed the first government mineral exploration of the North Cascades, pointed out that existing mining claims were not affected.[17]

The only articles in either newspaper mentioning local support for the reserves resulted from a talk by Edmond S. Meany at one of the weekly opposition rallies organized by the press and the Chamber of Commerce. Both treated Meany critically, although he was not ignored. Meany was a person of some stature at the University of Washington, organizer of the local Forestry Association, and an acquaintance of important community leaders.

The March 20, 1897, *Post-Intelligencer* briefly described Meany as the principal speaker at the meeting, although he was "rather antagonistic to the general views on the forest reserve." Meany's remarks were rebutted in an editorial the next day that insisted "yet in the whole of Western Washington, not one single voice has been raised in support of the Cascade Forest Reservation as made." The final

qualification, "as made," may have been a reference to Meany's view that Cleveland's order needed modification. Meany was not named in the editorial, which also claimed the *Post-Intelligencer* was a friend of conservation and stated erroneously there was no timber in the forest reserves.[18]

In the March 20, 1897, *Times*, Meany's remarks were treated as a secondary aspect of the rally. A lengthy headline deck read: "E.S. Meany made a speech which did not harmonize with the great majority of the people present." The text of the story noted:

> While Mr. Meany defended the commisssion on whose famous recommendation Cleveland made his famous order, he showed the Seattle spirit for which he is noted by saying he did not wish to see the miner prevented from removing the hidden treasures of the earth.[19]

Six months later, however, the *Post-Intelligencer*, the newspaper more strongly opposed to the forest reserves, abruptly reversed its editorial and reporting policies to endorse forest reserves and published an interview with Gifford Pinchot. A member of the commission that suggested creating the reserves, Pinchot had been appointed a special federal forest agent by Cornelius Bliss, Secretary of the Interior to President McKinley. Pinchot's appointment was to inspect the new forest reserves and recommend their future management. While on an inspection trip through the West states in the summer and fall of 1897, Pinchot stopped in communities adjacent to the reserves and tried to create a more favorable public opinion of them. He visited editors who had opposed Cleveland's order and lobbied local commercial and industrial leaders to explain new reserve policies.[20]

In Seattle, Pinchot appealed to Thomas Burke, the Seattle promoter and western counsel for the Great Northern Railroad. Burke had not favored the forest reserves, but Pinchot persuaded him that more efficient use of timberlands would boost the local economy, not restrict it. The forester argued that federal forestry favored use of resources, not locking them up to look at. Entrepreneurs could continue to mine, graze, or log as necessary, but the government would coordinate these activities to make them more efficient. Long-term use of resources would replace destructive short-term practices and bring permanent prosperity to surrounding communities.[21]

Pinchot and his brother, Amos, had met Burke earlier in the year and dined together at the city's exclusive Rainier Club. When the forester arrived as a special federal agent in Seattle August 18, he was taken to Burke's house to dinner. After hearing Pinchot plead his case in two visits to his office the next day, Burke led Pinchot personally to the editorial offices of the *Post-Intelligencer* and introduced him to the news editor, John W. Pratt. Pinchot described the encounters both in his diary and in his autobiography:

> After that to Seattle, where long conferences with Judge Thomas Burke helped me to understand public opinion in the State of Washington, and convinced him that the Forest Reserve policy was wise and right. Judge Burke took me to see the editor of the *Post-Intelligencer*, commonly known as the *P-I*. He, as my diary puts it, ('came to the right view,') and gave me a chance to tell about it in an interview in his paper.[22]

The visit ended the scathing criticism of forest reserves in the *Post-Intelligencer*, at least in 1897. Pinchot's diary makes no mention of the *Times*, and the newspaper made no reference to forest reserves during his visit. Pinchot left Seattle to survey the Olympic Reserve and returned on September 5, after new owner George Piper had taken over the *Post-Intelligencer* and reaffirmed the paper's support of the commercial community.[23] Pinchot met again with Pratt, now executive editor, and dictated an interview.[24] The next day, September 6, a lengthy article appeared on the newspaper's front page describing Pinchot's mission and his support for the forest reserves. The forester was quoted praising the wise use of resources in the reserves, not restrictions, to achieve prosperity. Besides the column-long story, the *Post-Intelligencer* ran an editorial that reversed its position on the issue:

> Quite a new aspect is placed upon the intention of the government, or perhaps it would be more just to say the Forest Reserve Commission, by the intelligent presentation of it made by Mr. Gifford Pinchot.... He has found no lack of sympathtic aid in his work in this state.[25]

Pinchot's notes and the wording of the newspaper's editorial indicate the personal visit by Burke and the advocacy by Pinchot were behind the *Post-Intelligencer's* turnaround on the forest reserve controversy. Burke was one of the community's most prominent business leaders and represented both an indirect and potentially direct economic influence on the newspaper. Besides serving as local representative of the Great Northern Railroad, he owned a municipal street railway and was involved in other local investment speculations. More directly, from the standpoint of newspapering, Burke was an owner of the defunct Seattle *Daily Telegraph*, bought by the *Post-Intelligencer* in 1893, and an investor on behalf of the Great Northern Railroad in the *Times*. There is no evidence that Burke was involved in the change of ownership at the *Post-Intelligencer* in September, 1897, but, a few months later, he loaned Republican Senator John Wilson $250,000 of the railroad's money to buy the newspaper from George Piper.[26] No local editor could afford to ignore his presence.

The *Post-Intelligencer's* editorial policy throughout the reserves controversy—and its reversal after the intervention by Burke and

Pinchot— reflected more than a single viewpoint in the local economic community. The newspaper served as the organizational focus of opposition to the reserves when local merchants found Cleveland's proclamation threatening to their businesses. It reversed this policy when one of the community's most important industrial leaders was persuaded that federal management of resources in forest reserves would be beneficial, rather than an impediment, to future prosperity. The incident suggests that the newspaper was reponsive to the viewpoints of economic forces in its supporting community but that these voices were not necessarily monolithic on an issue of economic and political importance. The question of political partisanship was also complex. The *Post-Intelligencer* was officially Republican. Pinchot, although a Republican appointed by the McKinley administration, was more of a scientist than a political partisan on the issue of forest reserves. Burke wielded great economic influence in Seattle but was nominally a Democrat who had previously financed a Democratic paper, the *Telegraph*. The resulting interactions between newspaper and community suggest that the late nineteenth century daily newspaper was subject to more complex influences on local editorial policy than implied by its commercial orientation or partisan affiliation.

NOTES

[1]See Barbara Cloud, "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper: A Study of Eight Western Territories," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61 (1984), pp. 805-811, and "Start the Presses: The Birth of Journalism in Washington Territory," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1979; and Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and their Influence on News," *Journalism History*, 7 (1980): pp. 1-10.

[2]The portrait of Seattle and of the impact of the reserves decision is drawn from Lawrence Rakestraw, "Uncle Sam's Forest Reserves," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 4:4 (October, 1953), p. 145; Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation in the Pacific Northwest: 1891-1913* (New York, 1979), pp. 42-43; Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage* (New York, 1950), p. 305; and Clarence B. Bagley, *History of Seattle* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 233-232.

[3]Bagley, *ibid.*, pp. 193-197; Keith Murray, "Republican Party Politics in Washington during the Progressive Era," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1946, pp. 10-13; Seattle *Times*, Sept. 1, 1897; Eldon Nick Coroch, "Col. Alden J. Blethen and the Seattle Times," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1946, pp. 30-49.

[4]Both newspapers were read by this author for advertiing and non-advertising content from February through September, 1897; Rakestraw, *History of Forest Conservation in the Pacific Northwest*, p. 68.

[5]Lawrence Rakestraw, "Before McNary: The Northwestern Conservationists: 1889-1913" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 51:2 (April, 1960), pp. 9-56; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 1, 1897.

[6]Edmond S. Meany Papers, University of Washington; Young Naturalist Society of Washington Papers, University of Washington; Thomas Burke Papers, University of Washington. See also Rakestraw, *History of Forest Conservation in the Pacific Northwest*, p. 280; Ivan Doig, "John McGilvra and Timber

Trespass, *Forest History* (January, 1970), p. 6; "A Lumberman (Addison G. Foster) in the Senate," *American Lumberman*, 53 (Feb. 11, 1899); and Robert C. Nesbit, *"He Built Seattle": A Biography of Judge Thomas Burke* (Seattle, 1961).

[7]Robert E. Ficken, "Gifford Pinchot's Men, Pacific Northwest Lumbermen and the Conservation Movement: 1902-1910," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 13:2 (April, 1982), pp. 165-179.

[8]*Times*, Feb. 28 and March 3, 1897; *Post-Intelligencer*, March 5, 1897.

[9]Robbins, p. 314; Rakestraw, *History of Forest Conservation in the Pacific Northwest*, p. 68; John Ise, *U.S. Forest Policy* (New Haven, 1920), pp. 130-132.

[10]*Times*, March 6, 1897; *Post-Intelligencer*, March 1 and 5, 1897.

[11]*Post-Intelligencer*, March 6, 1897.

[12]*Ibid.*, March 7, 1897; Robbins, p. 319.

[13]*Post-Intelligencer*, March 10, 11, 13, and 16, 1897; *Times*, March 8, 15, and 16, 1897.

[14]Ise, pp. 141-142.

[15]*Times*, May 13, 1897; *Post-Intelligencer*, May 27, 1897.

[16]*Times*, April 23, 1897.

[17]*Post-Intelligencer*, April 10, 1897; Fred Beckey, *Cascade Alpine Guide: Rainy Pass to the Fraser River* (Seattle, 1981), p. 278.

[18]*Post-Intelligencer*, March 20 and 21, 1897.

[19]*Times*, March 20, 1897.

[20]M. Nelson McGeary, *Gifford Pinchot: Forester-Politician* (Princeton, N.J., 1960), p. 3.

[21]For the most succinct statement of Pinchot's utilitarian views, see *The Fight for Conservation* (New York, 1910. Seattle: University of Washington Press Edition, 1967.)

[22]Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, p. 126; Diary, Feb. 12, 1897; Aug. 18-19, 1897, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[23]*Times*, Sept. 1, 1897.

[24]Diary, Sept. 5, 1897.

[25]*Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 6, 1897.

[26]See Nesbit.

The Anti-Monopoly Persuasion: Popular Resistance to the Rise of Big Business in the Midwest. *By Steven L. Piott.* Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985. 194 pp. Cloth, $35.

The Media Monopoly. *By Ben Bagdikian.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1983. 282 pp.

In this era of growing consolidation of the news media and what Ben Bagdikian claims are "50 corporations that control what America sees, hears and reads," these two books give the journalism historian a much needed taste of something not always available in the study of mass media economics today—a few flickers of hope.

Unfortunately, the glimmers of optimism are short-lived as the historical account of a successful period of anti-monopoly persuasion returns to the reality of what Bagdikian describes as a new "military-media-industrial complex."

Some hope comes from Piott's fast moving story of the grass roots movement originating in the midwest in the late 1880s, challenging the growing businesses and monopolies that threatened to overcome all of the nation in the industrialization following the Gilded Age.

In contrast to other books on trusts and monopolies that have focused on the legal, intellectual and policy formulation at the highest level, Piott's concerns are with the populist origins of this overlooked consumer movement, and how an outraged group (primarily farmers and city dwellers) forced action through boycotts and state laws.

As examples of the popular resistance, Piott describes such anti-monopoly events as the St. Louis streetcar strike of 1900, the Chicago Teamsters strike of 1902, the Beef Trust Investigation, and the state of Missouri's successful anti-trust cases of 1905-1908 against Standard Oil.

After picking up speed in the midwest, the popular anti-monopoly persuasion broadened its base to include urban dwellers and other consumers threatened by monopoly interests, and fought for more direct political participation in the political process, and greater governmental action to bring about economic and social justice.

Of particular interest to the journalism historian is Piott's reference to newspapers such as Joseph Pulitizer's St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and other progressive prairie publications as well as writers such as Henry Demarest Lloyd and muckraker Ida Tarbell who helped fan the flames of populism and anti-monopoly sentiment.

This is not a book about journalistic heroes, however. Rather the focus is on the unheralded grass roots population and organizations.

It's also about elected officials at the state level such as Missouri attorney general and later Governor Herbert Hadley who help put the legal screws on corporate robber barons such as Henry Clay Pierce. It was Pierce who testified his Standard Oil related company was making as much as a 700 per cent profit, but that the average was only :00 per cent.

Although American newspaper monopolies and media conglomerates do not yet report such profit margins, Bagdikian expresses similar concern over two alarming developments in the mass media during the past 25 years.

One is the impact of concentrated control of our media by 50 corporations. The other development is the subtle but profound impact of mass advertising on the form and content of the advertising-subsidized media—newspapers, magazines and broadcasting.

"For the first time in the history of American journalism," he writes, "news and public information have been integrated formally into the highest levels of finanacial and nonjournalistic corporate control.

"Controls of interest between the public's need for information and corporate desires for 'positive information' have vastly increased."

He also claims that in contrast to the past, today's dominant media have less and less concern with reaching the dispossessed and addressing weaknesses in the social order.

"The major media are rapidly becoming the glue that holds together only the material amibitions of the 18 to 9-year-old affluent citizens. That is not the kind of glue that holds together a nation dedicated to democratic principles."

Despite the gloomy picture Bagdikian paints of modern media monopoly, however, he concludes with some upbeat recommendations "to undo the excess" he describes.

"The answer is not in the elimination of private enterprise in the media," he argues. The answer is the same as for other central institutions of a democratic society—equitable distribution of power.

To help bring this about, Bagdikian recommends that policies adopted by other countries need to be studied, including allowing editorials staffs to have more voice in the election of editors, producers and directors.

Like Piott, he sees hope in the voices of ordinary men and women who in the 1980s mobilized against the military industrial complex now described as the military-media-industrial complex.

From this start must come a "drastic reordering" of power in American society, including a reduction in the concentrated control of news, public information and culture, he recommends.

It's a light at the end of a tunnel that all of us can hope for. Unfortunately, however, if the anti-monoply persuasion of today is anything like the one Piott describes, we need not hold our breath.

Sadly and perhaps ironically, Piott records that the popular movement lost its momentum not only during the Panic of 1907, but

by being coopted by federal regulation.

A major consequence of the shift to regulation and an increased reliance on bureaucratic and administrative solutions to problems, according to Piott, is the "feeling of frustration that pervades current-day perceptions of one's ability to bring about meaningful change or to influence *the system.*"

Despite the theme of hope coming up from the grass roots, Piott concludes that the result has become life under a dark cloud of economic uncertainty and a narrowing loss of possible options.

"What has been lost in this process has been a very rich progressive tradition of opposition to special interests; a more direct, democratic participation in the political process; a continued governmental commitment to bring about economic and social justic in society; a vibrant sense of community; and an expansive sense of economic social and political possibilities."

Alf Pratte
Brigham Young University

The Scaremongers: The Advocacy of War and Rearmament, 1896-1914. *By A.J.A. Morris.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984. 95 pp. Index. Cloth, $49.95.

A.J.A. Morris, a historian on the faculty of the University of Ulster, has undertaken the formidable task of examining the two decades prior to World War I from a new perspective. Usually the venue of the diplomatic and military historian, the era takes on a different coloration when viewed from Fleet Street and the newspaper offices in Berlin.

One major theme discussed is the extent to which newspapers reflected or created public opinion during this period. The matter is not settled, and no doubt cannot be, but the issue is discussed in a detailed, interesting and provocative fashion.

The growing fears that the citizenry in both Britain and Germany felt toward each other were delineated in the presses of the two nations but politicians, pundits, and journalists were not above dwelling on these apprehensions for their own ends. For instance, it is clear that Lord Northcliff emphasized the threat of war and the German menace successfully to increase the circulation of his *Daily Mail* and hence advertising revenues.

Then, too, the *Times'* famous military expert, Col. Charles a Court Repington, strongly supported Richard Burton Haldane, the British War Minister, in his attempts to enlarge and reform the army, during the course of which the German menace appeared even more menacing. The proponents of naval reform, principally the First Sea Lord, Adm.

Sir John Fisher, who favored a vastly larger and more powerful fleet, obtained the assistance of the facile pen of J.L. Garvin, editor of the *Observer*, among others, in taking on such opponents as Hugh Arnold-Forster, the Secretary of State for War, and other foes such as Adm. Charles Beresford. The resulting journalistic jousts often added to the fears already felt by the public of the impending danger of invasion and war.

The German press during this period, reflecting official policy and attitudes, similarly served to keep German popular opinion alive to the threat that Britain was said to pose to Germany as well as to Germany's precarious position, surrounded as she was by the nations of the Triple Entente.

Other topics and personalities appear in great numbers in the pages of this book. For instance, the fear of spies and saboteurs, prominent especially in England, is illuminated. Among the famous British journalists discussed are Sir Valentine Chirol, Charles Frederic Bell, George Saunders, Henry Wickham Steed, William Thomas Stead, Fred V. Wile, and John Strachey. These men's relations with prominent men of affairs in England such as Arthur James Balfour, Herbert Asquity, Winston S. Churchill, Robert Salisbury, Sir Edward Grey, William George Tyrrell and Baron Tweedmouth, are unfailingly interesting.

Morris writes clearly and with verve and skill which hide the fact that his account is a richly detailed one difficult to sustain. Though there are some dense passages, the narrative can usually be readily followed.

The scholarly apparatus is elaborate. There is an extensive notes section, an adequate selected bibliography and both a biographical and a subject index.

Morris' narrative, containing a new systhesis of the period prior to World War I, is of great benefit to journalists, historians and serious general readers.

Alfred E. Cornebise
University of Northern Colorado

The Lamp of Learning: Taylor & Francis and the Development of Scientific Publishing. *By W.H. Brock and A.J. Meadows.* London and Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis, 1984.

This seemingly peripheral work to journalism contains a few surprises. It covers the history of a publishing firm in England, Taylor & Francis, that has specialized in the commercial output of scientific journals since the eighteenth century. As such, it offers insight on the development of what became academic disciplines in the context of

pressures to publish and, from the point of view of this firm, to make a profit from the enterprise. One might well speculate on how commercial publishing affects the development of any discipline, ours included.

However, there is more of specific interest to journalism historians. The work represents a case study of several broad currents of development that pertain to the field. One involves the transformation of printing to publishing as an undertaking, an important distinction in understanding the stages in the emergence of the corporate press. Another focus of the book is the applicaton of technology. For Taylor & Francis, the introduction of high-speed mechanical printing early in the nineteenth century was nearly an economic disaster. The remedy for the company, in part, was to engage in journalism, which was more amenable to the new technology. Journalism was a financial godsend to the company until late in the century. On this and other occasions the book engages directly in journalism historiography, although of situations across the Atlantic. In one passage there is crisp description of the secrecy involved in setting up the labor-saving engine presses of *The Times* of London. The deception was not aimed at the competition but the newspaper's own regular staff.

The story of the firm itself is almost akin to an early Victorian romance dealing intricately with the fortunes of the founding family, the Taylors. There are hints of illicit love, questionable paternity, even madness in the family tree, as well as betrayal and incompetence in the family business. This is perhaps more than just a bonus for readers: the book was printed by Taylor & Francis, and such details help to assuage any impression that the work might be merely a "house" job.

Douglas Birkhead
Louisiana State University

Novels, Readers, and Reviewers. *By Nina Baym.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984.

This well-written, interesting and insightful study is a foray into the cultural connection between the rise of the American novel and the rise of the American review during, primarily, the years 1840-1860. By this time, says the author (citing Frank Luther Mott), there had come to exist in the Northeast a larger magazine industry than at any previous period in the history of the country. This industry, along with the growing audience for both the novel and the magazine, was large enough, claims the author, to support a full-scale critical reaction to the novel in a way that had not before occurred.

Baym's purported aim is to "chronicle actual American thinking about novels," by way of employing reviews of the novels from a

variety of magazines: *Godey's, Peterson's, Harper's, The Literary World, Graham's, The Southern Literary Messenger,* and a number of others (21 in all). This approach Baym terms "practical criticism" and differentiates it from what she calls "Studies of American attitudes toward fiction (which) commonly use general pronouncements on literature as their sources...." In other words, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers* is based on primary research, something one sees not nearly often enough in literary history.

Baym is not concerned about the "correctness" of the review as a reaction to the novel but is concerned instead that the "ideas about the genre of the work at hand (as they) enter into that work at every phase of its history: into its creation by the writer, its presentation by the publisher, its reception by readers, and its assessment and transmission by critics." The last of these areas is of course what *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers* deals with specifically. It is by way of examining the critics and their ideas about novels, and responses to specific ones, that, argues Baym, one begins to get a sense of the "concept of the novel" as "an influential historical reality"—which is to say, the idea of the novel as a powerful cultural force.

With regard to this argument, the reader should be aware of a central assumption by the author: that the opinions of the reviewers reflected, to a degree, the views of the reading audience. Novel reviewing, writes Baym, "was directed towards readers, was conducted in constant awareness of what people were reading, and was always trying to understand the reasons for public preferences." While this claim must be taken somewhat on faith, given that it is nowhere systematically demonstrated by the author, one tends to grant its authenticity both because of its seeming logic (in light of current practices in the publishing business) and because of the extensive research which the author has invested in this study (she read more that two thousand reviews).

Given that, like biographies of Horace Greeley, so many studies of the American novel have been done, any new study will naturally require a fresh thesis in order to be taken seriously. Baym's thesis, apart from the novelty of her method and subject matter, is that the novel never really met the hostility from the Puritan mind and the Scottish Common Sense philosophy which literary historians have presumed and was not, therefore, forced into becoming mere "romance"—a term distinguished from the novel by way of its essentially unrealistic nature. "The America," writes the author, "into which Hawthorne launched *The Scarlet Letter* and Melville launched *Moby-Dick* was a nation of novel readers. The essential premise on which our history of the American novel is based, that the nation was hostile to fiction, is demonstrably incorrect."

Baym here raises something of a straw man, to be struck down by weight of some quite serious and excellent research. I cannot, for example, find among literary historians of antebellum fiction the unanimity of opinion which Baym speaks of regarding the alleged

hostile reaction to fiction. *The Literary History of the United States* (third edition, p. 178), for instance, fails to note any such reaction except to the satirical novel, which "was not so prolific as the sentimental, for its irony was disturbing to Calvinistic mind, and its humor, often arising from sordid picaresque episodes, was objectionable." Likewise, F.O. Mathiessen's *American Renaissance* (1980 edition, p. 200) fails to note any such hostility but notes, instead, Royall Tyler's awareness in 1797 of a new, receptive audience for the novel.

If this venture is a quibble with Baym's thesis—and a quibble is all it is- one might also venture a mild complaint about the text itself. Baym's handling of her research material is in the style of nineteenth-century biography, in which research was often adduced to bolster arguments but rarely footnoted. Baym's gives incomplete source information in parentheses following quotes; however, a serious reader bent on checking references may want more, especially in light of the original approach of this book and in light of how the author uses pieces of the same review over a number of chapters. Complete footnoting of a book containing many references would not, of course, be a light task and is one which book publishers often object to. But a scholarly work this is, and the scholarship should probably be set in more definite terms, if only to demonstrate its excellence.

I hasten to say that these are mere quibbles which should not be taken in any way as a serious criticism of a study which amounts to a valuable new approach to the history of the American novel. Baym's treatment of Hawthorne is, for example, unparalleled in literary history. Moreover, her use of the review as a scaffolding for the discussion of quite staple elements of the novel— plot, character, narration, and the theory of nature, among others—is, to my knowledge, unique in literary history and poses an entirely unexplored area of literary endeavor. More significant perhaps is the fact that *Novels, Readers and Reviewers* joins literary history with the history of journalism, in a synthesis whose time has long since come.

Gary Whitby
Southern Illinois University

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The Pittsburgh *Courier's* Double V Campaign in 1942

By Patrick S. Washburn

In January 1942, a twenty-six-year-old black cafeteria worker in Wichita, Kansas, wrote to the Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Courier*, the country's largest black newspaper with a national circulation of almost 200,000. His letter contained the following views on black rights and patriotism:

> Being an American of dark complexion . . . these questions flash through my mind: . . . "Would it be demanding too much to demand full citizenship rights in exchange for the sacrificing of my life?" "Is the kind of America I know worth defending?" "Will America be a true and pure democracy after this war?" "Will colored Americans suffer still the indignities that have been heaped upon them in the past?" . . .
>
> I suggest that while we keep defense and victory in the forefront that we don't lose sight of our fight for true democracy at home.
>
> The V for victory sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries which are fighting for victory over aggression, slavery and tyranny. If this V sign means that to those now engaged in this great conflict, then let we colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within. For surely those who perpetuate these ugly prejudices here are seeking to destroy our democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis forces.[1]

James G. Thompson's words had an immediate impact. In the next weekly issue of the *Courier* (February 7), four Double V drawings appeared; the paper announced a Double V campaign emphasizing black rights a week later on the front page; and massive amounts of Double V articles, photographs, and drawings showed up in the *Courier* within a month. Readers unquestionably liked the campaign. The *Courier* received hundreds of telegrams and letters praising the campaign, and by mid-July the paper claimed that it had recruited 200,000 Double V members.[2] In addition, there

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were Double V dances and parades, Double V flag-raising ceremonies, Double V baseball games between professional black teams, Double V beauty contests, Double V poems, and a Double V song, "A Yankee Doodle Tan," which NBC introduced to a nationwide audience. Well-known blacks, as well as famous whites, endorsed the campaign.

The campaign's rapid acceleration in the *Courier*, and its appeal, was not surprising. Like numerous black publications at the time, the Pittsburgh paper eagerly played up racial injustices and pushed for equality with whites. These demands were not subtle, and the editors displayed no apparent regard of whom they might offend. P.L. Prattis, managing editor of the *Courier* in World War II and one of the country's most influential black journalists, noted the "fighting" style of the black press:

> The Negro reporter is a fighting partisan. He has an enemy. That enemy is the enemy of his people. The people who read his newspaper . . . expected him to invent similes and metaphors that lay open the foe's weaknesses and to employ cutting irony, sarcasm and ridicule to confound and embarrass our opponents. The Negro reader is often a spectator at a fight. The reporter is attacking the reader's enemy and the reader has a vicarious relish for a fight well fought.[3]

Thus, it was not unusual for the *Courier* in 1942, while proclaiming its loyalty to the United States and to the Allies, sometimes to praise Communists for helping blacks and to criticize the Allies, particularly Great Britain, for mistreating blacks in far-flung colonies. Occasionally, the Japanese were lauded for throwing off the white yoke in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. Such criticism appealed to black readers, who since 1938 had seen the black press reemphasize a World War I theme – ending discrimination in the armed services.[4] Black men could not join the Marines, Coast Guard, or Air Corps; the Navy would accept them only as messboys; and the Army confined them to four units in which openings seldom occurred. Such treatment angered blacks – since they could do little to defend the country, the felt like second-class citizens – and a status struggle resulted.[5] Blacks also resented oppressive poll taxes, educational and job discrimination, police violence against blacks, and lynchings of blacks in towns such as Sikeston, Missouri; Laurel, Mississippi; and Texarkana, Texas.

Thompson's letter expressed nothing radically new, but its Double V goal captured the interest of blacks and brought about a national cohesiveness as numerous black newspapers emphasized the need to end discrimination while continuing to publicize Allied war aims. The timing was superb. With the U.S. involvement in World War II, government officials began stressing the need of a united home front to ensure victory, and the country's 13,000,000 blacks assumed that whites could no longer ignore the issue of discrimination. The campaign declined by July, however, and it virtually died by October. It continued in the *Courier* until 1943, but the number of Double V items and the column inches they consumed were a mere trickle compared to the previous torrent.

Other historical studies of the Double V campaign have examined its

origins and broad aims in the entire black press.[6] There has been no rigorous content analysis of any of the papers attempting to determine the frequency with which various campaign items appeared and the campaign's weekly strength. This study focuses on the contents of the *Courier*'s Double V campaign in 1942. It examines both the campaign's week-by-week intensity and the frequency of appearance of different items and offers reasons for its decline.

The *Courier*, which was founded in 1907 and rose to prominence among black newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s, introduced the campaign on February 7, 1942 – after Thompson's letter – when a drawing that quickly became familiar appeared in the upper left-hand corner of the front page. It contained the American symbol – an eagle – and the words, "Democracy. Double VV victory. At home – abroad."[7] Then, on February 14, the paper sharply escalated the campaign, devoting five and a half times more space to it than in the preceding week. In a box at the top of the front page, the *Courier* restated Thompson's general theme:

> Americans all are involved in a gigantic war effort to assure victory for the cause of freedom . . .. We, as colored Americans, are determined to protect our country, our form of government, and freedoms which we cherish for ourselves and for the rest of the world, therefore we adopted the Double "V" War Cry . . . . Thus, in our fight for freedom, we wage a two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who would enslave us. WE HAVE A STAKE IN THIS FIGHT. . . . WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO![8]

The intent was obvious. While the paper wanted to publicize the campaign, it also hoped to convince nervous whites that it was not suggesting blacks should be unpatriotic.

In the same issue, the *Courier* ran the first of an avalanche of Double V photographs featuring smiling blacks. Besides the standard picture showing a black flashing a V with each hand, there were numerous variations: one woman had a "VV" on the back of her dress while another held a "VV" quilt; a class of sixth graders flashed the Double V sign; a soldier formed a Double with his hands and two military flags; and children displayed a Double V poster while selling war bonds and stamps. The paper also began selecting a "Double V Girl of the Week" such as Mabel Burks of Chicago, who was shown against a backdrop of two large V's on March 28.[9]

A number of well-known persons appeared in Double V photographs from February through November 1942. They included such blacks as singers Marian Anderson and Etta Moten; bandleaders Lionel Hampton, Lucky Millinder, and Jimmie Lunceford; New York City Councilman Adam Clayton Powell Jr.; NAACP Assistant Secretary Roy Wilkins; Joe Louis' wife, Marva; and Miss Bronze America of 1941, Beatrice Williams. The *Courier* hammered home their support in ringing phrases. "Like thousands of other race patriots, she wants victory at home against prejudice and bias as well as in foreign lands against enemies of democracy," the *Courier* assured under Williams' three-column, front-page photograph. More support came from

some famous whites, who frequently were photographed either reading the *Courier* or wearing a Double V lapel pin. Among them were politicians Wendell Wilkie, Thomas Dewey, and John McCormack; columnist and broadcaster Dorothy Thompson; novelist Sinclair Lewis; comedian Eddie Cantor; CBS' William Paley and NBC's David Sarnoff; and movie stars Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman, and Gary Cooper.

But the most vocal support for the Double V, according to the *Courier*, came from ordinary readers, who wrote "hundreds" of letters about the campaign by February 21. On that day, the paper ran seven letters, with a geographical distribution that became typical of what followed weekly – New York City; Wichita, Kansas; Toledo, Ohio; Charleroi, Pennsylvania; Los Angeles; Philadelphia; and Washington. The most noteworthy letter was from Thompson. He explained that he had written to the *Courier* in January because he had hoped his letter would result in "a nationwide drive in which every home and every car would carry in full-view these Double 'V' for victory signs."[10]

By March 7, when the paper ran fifteen letters, commendatory titles began appearing on them, such as "Detroit is Impressed," "Says Double V is Tops," and "Double Victory Important."[11] A scathing letter came from "a 19-year-old Colored Boy" in Columbus, Ohio:

> If and when the American White Man loses this war, I am wondering if he will think why he did not give the colored man a chance with the white in the Navy? It may be too late for he may not have the Navy himself! He may ask why he did not give the colored man a bigger part to play in the war. He may say, "We could have used the colored man but we didn't. Why didn't I give more jobs in the factories, where he was much needed at the time? We have found that we could have won the war with his aid, that we couldn't win without him. Why didn't we let more of these colored men into the Army and the Marine Corps? Why didn't we let him do more than flunky work? That is all too late now. We were only thinking of ourselves." Your Double V campaign will help to avoid the above situation.[12]

That was not the only bitter letter. A Texas woman labeled the Double V campaign important "because many Americans are more dangerous to us [blacks] than some of our enemies abroad." In Oregon, according to another woman, the Double V "means more to us than the 'Buy a Stamp' or 'Buy a Bond' drive!" An Ohio Baptist minister claimed that the campaign "will teach the Mr. Charlie of the South a new lesson and will shake the foundations of the hypocritical North."[13]

Some writers were more positive. A Georgia resident called the Double V "the greatest race proclamation since emancipation."[14] An unidentified South Carolinian said:

> Congratulations to the "Double V" campaign. I have got up a group of fifty men to carve marks and write the "Double V" emblem on everything that is movable and immovable here in S.C. We cut some [Double V drawings] out of the paper and

> stuck them in the trolley bus. Give us the buttons and stickers and we will put them in the right places.[15]

The *Courier* also frequently reiterated the campaign's themes in editorials and columns. On February 28, only three weeks after the Double V began, columnist Edgar T. Rouzeau encouraged blacks to "shame" verbally any whites guilty of prejudice, pointing out that someone had to be either totally for democracy or against it. To him, no middle ground existed.[16] A week later, columnist Frank E. Bolden became noticeably tougher. He summed up his views in a capitalized sentence: "THOSE WHO DO NOT WANT COLORED PEOPLE TO FULLY PARTICIPATE IN THE WAR EFFORT SHOULD BE CLASSED AS TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY, BECAUSE THEY ARE BLOCKING THE ASSISTANCE OF A POWERFUL ALLY THAT HAS NEVER SHOWN A SHORTAGE OF COURAGE AND SACRIFICE – COLORED AMERICANS!" He stressed that the *Courier* would push the Double V until its goals were accomplished.[17] Then, on March 28, a *Courier* editorial had an ominous line: "If we are to have no democracy at home, it does not make a great deal of difference what happens abroad."[18]

Such strong remarks, by the country's largest black newspaper, understandably made whites jittery. Apparently for that reason, the *Courier* on March 21 already had restated the campaign's goals: "The 'Double V' combines . . . the aims and ideals of all men, black as well as white, to make this a more perfect union of peace-loving men and women, living in complete harmony and equality." It also called blacks "the most loyal segment of the American population."[19] Three weeks later, only two days after the Allied surrender at Bataan, the *Courier* cloaked the Double V in patriotism by espousing a Double V Creed across the top of the front page in large type:

> We pledge allegiance to the United States of America . . . to its all-out victory over the forces of our enemies on the battlefronts in every section of the world. We pledge allegiance to the principles and tenets of democracy as embodied in the Constitution of the United States and in the Bill of Rights. To full participation in the fruits of this victory . . . victory both at home and abroad . . . we pledge our all![20]

Following that, the *Courier* gradually toned down its criticism and settled into a line of reasoning that it considered beyond reproach. An August 8 editorial called on blacks to "do everything within your power to gain victory." However, the paper continued, "we would be less than men if, while we are giving up our property and sacrificing our lives, we do not agitate, contend and demand those rights guaranteed to all free men. This would be neither patriotism nor common sense."[21]

Meanwhile, the *Courier* publicized the Double V in numerous ways. They included "Double V for Victory" dances, Double V queens, Double V flag-raising ceremonies, a Double V garden at Kansas State Industrial School, and a Double V professional baseball game in St. Louis between the New York Black Yankees and the Birmingham Black Barons. As thousands watched, drum and bugle corps formed a giant Double V on the field before the game.[22]

Double V clubs sponsored much of the activity. The *Courier* began encouraging readers to form clubs on April 11, when it announced its Double V Creed across the top of the front page while another box at the bottom proclaimed, "5 cents Buys the 'Double V' Pin!" To form a club, a group had to buy only $1 of pens or stickers, the latter costing a penny apiece.[23] The publicity worked. The number of clubs grew from thirty-eight on May 2 to 206 three months later in thirty-four states, the District of Columbia, and the Canal Zone.[24] As a result, the *Courier* began on June 13 a " 'Double V' Club News" column which indicated the wide variety of interests of club members. Some wrote to congressmen to protest poll taxes; others sent letters to the radio networks, asking that two programs, "Southernaires" and "Wings Over Jordan," not be broadcast simultaneously so that blacks could listen to both; and they met with business officials to promote non-discriminatory hiring.[25] Helping servicemen, however, was the biggest activity. Clubs sent books, magazines, cigarettes, ash trays, handkerchiefs, shoe polish, skull caps, candies, and cookies to numerous military installations.[26]

Other organizations promoted the campaign, too. Both the NAACP and the CIO's United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (more commonly known as the UAW) unanimously endorsed the Double V. The resolution adopted by the UAW, the country's largest union with about 700,000 members, described the Double V campaign as expressing "vividly and concisely the aims of the labor movement in this war for a victory over the forces of Fascism and reaction and oppression both within this nation and in the world at large."[27]

The campaign also received religious support.[28] In mid-March, the national Negro Baptist Council designated Easter Sunday as "National Negro Double Victory Day." It called on ministers at 40,000 black churches to preach on Easter for "justice, enfranchisement, equal educational opportunities and salaries, unrestricted participation in the armed forces of the United States, employment in all defense industries regardless of race, creed or color, expansion of WPA, NYA and CCC unemployment insurance and old age pension security for . . . all workers Negro and white, north and south, from now on."[29] The *Courier* responded a week later with a memorable artist's drawing. As two people stood on a hillside looking upward, Christ emerged from a cloud holding a V in each hand. "This is a 'Double V' scene," said the cutline. "Its importance and significance in the current struggle cannot be disassociated from its spiritual implications as expressed in Revelations."[30] The *Courier* claimed in the two weeks preceding Easter that the idea of a National Negro Double Victory Day was "gaining support," but that may have been baseless.[31] Following Easter, the paper failed to mention The Double Victory Day, probably indicating that it had not been a nationwide success.

Additional support came from the music industry. On March 14, only five weeks after the campaign began, the *Courier* announced that L.C. Johnson and Andy Razaf had composed a new song, "A Yankee Doodle Tan," which had been inspired by the Double V. A photograph of the composers had the *Courier's* Double V drawing in the background.[32] Hampton's band, which he renamed Lionel Hampton and His 'Double V' Band, performed the song on an NBC radio national program in May, and the paper reported two million listeners heard the broadcast. Within two weeks, the paper was selling sheet music of the song for thirty cents.[33]

The women's clothing industry and hairstylists also publicized the campaign. The *Courier* displayed Double V hats on April 11, and a "V for Victory" dress appeared in the paper in the following week. By the end of the month, a Hollywood designer had come out with a matching Double V hat and gown, which she called her "humble contribution to this great cause." In the same issue, the paper noted some Texas women had attended a formal black ball with Double V parts in their hair. A Double V hairstyle – sometimes called a "doubler" – evolved quickly.[34]

Another campaign target was sports fans. On March 14, the paper ran its most imaginative Double V photograph. It showed UCLA basketball star Roger "Bill" Terry leaping in the air with his legs spread. His legs and his shadow each formed a V. A week later, the paper used a photograph of a black sprinter, who had won two events at the prestigious Knights of Columbus track meet in Madison Square Garden. Two artists' V's were in the background, and the cutline said the runner "automatically became one of the leaders in the *Courier*'s 'Double V' drive by virtue of his sensational performances." In the same issue, columnist Chester L. Washington wrote about an unidentified black boxing champion who had signed up "with Uncle Sam for his greatest fight." He supposedly told Washington: "I'm with Uncle Sam 100 per cent to win a smashing victory over our foreign enemies, but I'm also all-out for a Double Victory in America, one which will punch the ears off of our foes abroad and knock the socks off of Prejudice at home."[35]

Finally, the Double V showed up in the comics section. On February 21, the "Sunnyboy" strip, drawn by the *Courier*'s Wilbert L. Holloway (who also designed the Double V drawing), emphasized the Double V. The campaign appeared in the strip five more times in the next seven months.[36]

Even the *Courier*'s makeup emphasized the campaign. On March 7, the paper replaced ordinary straight rules between stories with rules consisting of two long dashes with a VV between them. It was a brilliant stroke. A campaign reminder appeared wherever a reader looked in the paper. Then, on September 12, a second journalistic gimmick showed up. When there was a small space at the end of a story, the paper frequently inserted the following bold face filler: "Fifteen million people with one unified thought, 'Double V;' Victory at Home and Abroad."[37]

During the rapid success of the Double V campaign, the *Courier* did not forget Thompson. On March 28, a photograph showed bandleader Lunceford congratulating Thompson "on his brilliant idea."[38] In April, the paper sent George S. Schuyler, a columnist and associate editor, to interview Thompson in Wichita, Kansas. The first paragraph set the article's tone when it portrayed Thompson as a black hero.

> For 900 miles by airplane and train from Pittsburgh to Wichita, Kansas, I had been wondering what manner of person was James Gratz Thompson, whose stirring letter to The Pittsburgh Courier had launched the nationwide "Double V" campaign. I knew that he was young and endowed with unusual gifts of expression. I knew that in his memorable letters he had expressed the feelings of millions of Negroes, young and old, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was clear he was a thoughtful young man and his photograph indicated that he was handsome

> and upstanding. Now, as I pressed the buzzer at the front door of the five-room one-story house the Thompsons own at 1239 Indiana Avenue, my curiosity was to be satisfied. At last I was to see and talk with the Negro youth whose words had thrilled a million COURIER readers.

After noting that Thompson had quit his job at the cafeteria in March after being refused a five-cent-an-hour raise, Schuyler described him as "the idol of Wichita's 6,000 Negro citizens."[39]

In June, Thompson replaced W.C. Page as director of the *Courier*'s national Double V campaign, moving a Hopkinsville, Kentucky, minister to deliver a sermon on Thompson. "Jesus Christ, our 'Double V' Friend, kissed the idea [of the Double V] when he kneeled and prayed in the Garden of Gethsemane," said the Rev. L.S. Grooms. "The idea of 'Double Victory' did not leave the earth, it simply remained silent until the selected person [Thompson] was notified and the time pronounced."[40] Thompson directed the Double V campaign until February 1943, when he joined the service.[41]

A content analysis of the *Courier* from the beginning of the campaign until the end of 1942 (a forty-seven week period) shows that the *Courier* used 970 Double V items.[42] There were 469 articles, editorials, and letters (48.35 percent of the material), 380 photographs (39.18 percent) and 121 editorial drawings (12.47 percent). The campaign reached its peak on April 11, when the *Courier* ran fifty Double V items filling 569 column inches (13.06 percent) of the available newshole. Then the campaign slowly tapered off until it seldom occupied more than two percent of the weekly newshole in the final three months of 1942. The decline particularly was evident on the *Courier*'s front page.

However, in the remaining thirty-one weeks of 1942, the campaign appeared on page one in only seven weeks. The same trend was evident in a reduction of Double V drawings, letters to the editor about the Double V, Double V Club News, listings of Double V clubs, and advertisements for Double V pins, stickers, and buttons.[43]

The finding of a sharp decline in the Pittsburgh *Courier*'s Double V campaign in 1942 is significant because it is the first evidence that any black newspaper, other than in the South, cut back on the Double V that year. Lee Finkle, who has made the most extensive study of the black press in World War II, notes that many Southern black papers toned down or eliminated the Double V in the summer of 1942 after nationally-known journalists Virginius Dabney, Westbrook Pegler, and Mark Ethridge criticized the campaign.[44] The papers backed off because they did not want to jeopardize a friendly relationship with Southern white liberals. However, Finkle says the black press outside of the South, "aware of its reader's approval, in no way softened its tone as a result of these attacks . . . The 'Double V' and 'fight for the right to fight' became the wartime slogans of the black press."[45]

Several possible explanations for the decline of the *Courier*'s Double V campaign by October 1942 can be dismissed. A decreasing circulation definitely was not the reason. The *Courier* had an average circulation of 141,525 for the first six months of 1941 compared to 190,684 a year later.[46]

A drop in advertising also can be dismissed. On January 31, 1942, the week before the Double V campaign began, the *Courier* ran 538 column inches of advertisements. After the campaign began, the paper had less advertising during 1942 only once – 512 inches on September 5.

Likewise, criticism of the Double V campaign in both the black and white press is not a plausible explanation. With the exception of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* in 1942, the major black publications (Chicago *Defender*, Amsterdam *Star-News*, Baltimore *Afro-American*, and the NAACP's *The Crisis*) never criticized the *Courier*'s campaign. The white press, meanwhile, attacked the Double V; but, as Finkle has noted, the criticism had little effect outside of the South. Schuyler, the *Courier*'s outspoken columnist, wrote in May 1942 that such attacks were useless because "the old days of scared, timid, ignorant Negroes are gone forever."[47] In addition, Frank E. Bolden, a columnist on the *Courier*'s 1942 staff, recalled that the paper "welcomed" the criticism. "If they [white newspapers] got on it [the Double V campaign], we knew we were attracting attention. That's what we wanted them to do."[48]

More subtle attempts to tone down the black press, particularly because of the Double V campaign, came from the government. By early 1942, black newspapers were being investigated heavily by the FBI, and high government officials were pressuring both the Justice Department and President Roosevelt to indict some black editors for "sedition" and "interference with the war effort." The president, however, would not allow court action.[49] Meanwhile, the *Courier*, one of the papers under investigation, ran columns and editorials throughout 1942 on the government threat to the black press' First Amendment rights. In a May editorial, the paper claimed that government officials wanted to suppress "all critical comment since [they permit] only one point of view. To the Negro press and public this trend cannot be viewed with complacency."[50]

Bolden denied that fear of government suppression had any effect on the *Courier*:

> Hell, no, the government pressure didn't cause us to back off. We welcomed it. It helped sell more papers when we wrote about it. We wanted Roosevelt to arrest one publisher for sedition and shut his paper down. But he was too smart to do that. He knew that would have given some white newspapers, such as *PM* and the New York *Times*, a chance to attack him.

Bolden said the FBI investigation was no secret. He recalled seeing agents at the paper twice, in 1940 and in the first half year after the U.S. entered the war, and he said everyone considered them "scared white men, Hoover's flunkies." "They'd tell us to shut our mouths, you're hurting the war effort . . . We just ignored them. I guess you could call it contempt."[51]

A desire to improve black morale does not seem to be a plausible explanation for the decline of the *Courier*'s Double V campaign. Everyone agreed in 1942 that it was low, and the government's Office of Facts and Figures became so concerned that it called a special Washington meeting of blacks in March to discuss the problem. "It is amusing to see these people [government officials] so panicky over a situation which they have caused and which governmental policies maintain," said the *Courier*. " . . . If the

Washington gentry are eager to see Negro morale take an upturn, they have only to abolish jim crowism and lower the color bar in every field and phase of American life."[52] In 1942 the paper never retreated from its belief that the government, not the press, was to blame for bad black morale. Therefore, morale could not have been improved by cutting back on the Double V campaign. Bolden recalled that the *Courier*'s editors held this view.[53]

So, how can the dramatic decline of the paper's Double V campaign in the last half of 1942 be explained? Available sources are of little help in answering this question. Documents prepared by the FBI, Justice Department, Office of Facts and Figures, and Office of War Information referred to the *Courier* and its Double V campaign, but these agencies only noted the campaign's presence without explaining the reason for its decline.[54] In addition, none of the columnists or editors left an answer although several of them wrote autobiographies.[55] Howard Sitkoff hinted at an explanation when he noted that "the war-time prosperity of the Negro middle class demanded a movement that would conserve [black] gains, rather than one that might undo the progress."[56] Blacks unquestionably made sudden, significant gains in 1942. Black men were commissioned for the first time in the Air Corps, Marines, and Coast Guard; their status was upgraded in the Army and Navy; and by November they were involved in combat in the South Pacific and North Africa. Black women were accepted for the newly created Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. The Red Cross began collecting blood from blacks, and defense plants started hiring in large numbers, mainly because of government pressure on employers.

Bolden said these gains, and numerous smaller ones, caused the *Courier* virtually to abandon the Double V in late 1942:

> What else could we do? We had knocked on the door and gotten some attention and so the editors said, "Let's concentrate on what the people are doing." For example, why would I want to read about the Double V when people are already working in a war plant down the street? I wouldn't. These gains showed good faith intentions by the government and other people [those who owned war plants], and we felt we should follow suit . . . .
>
> In other words, the Double V was like a Roman candle. It flared up, it did its work and then it died down. It wasn't the sole reason things opened up [in the armed forces and industry], but it certainly woke people up.[57]

As the Double V began to decline, the *Courier* clearly demonstrated its "good faith intentions" by replacing campaign material with positive articles and picture layouts, frequently covering a full page, about black gains. Subjects included black air corps pilots (March 14), black workers in defense plants (May 23), black shipyard workers (June 6), the 93rd Army Division at Fort Huachuca, Arizona (two pages on June 20), blacks in the Coast Guard (July 4), U.S. black soldiers around the world (July 25), black WAAC's at an Iowa training center (August 1), black troops in Trinidad (August 29), black merchant marine seamen (September 5), and black women in defense plants (September 26). The *Courier*'s new tone was particularly evident in picture cutlines:

> The 93rd Division is part of Uncle Sam's method of building up unexcelled fighting strength for a battle against enemy forces. Okay, Uncle Sam, we're ready.[58]

> These black men [in the defense plants] realize they have as much, or more, at stake than any other group of people. They know that democracy must survivie. They know that democracy is their only hope. And, because they are conscious of these things, they have rolled up their sleeves and are enthusiastically helping in the development of America's might. "America first, last and always!" is their song as they work in the arsenals of democracy.[59]

Other factors also may have influenced the demise of the Double V campaign. Newspaper publishers generally are conservative, and the *Courier*'s publisher, Jesse Vann, was no exception. When her husband, Robert L. Vann, died in 1940, she took over the paper with virtually no knowledge of the newspaper business.[60] Because the paper provided her financial support, she may have been apprehensive not only about government surveillance but the effect of the Double V on black morale, particularly in the service. After all, racial incidents occurred at a number of army camps in the spring of 1942, resulting in deaths of both blacks and whites. However, to back down from the campaign because of the pressure could have angered readers (as well as destroyed staff morale at the paper) and resulted in disasterous circulation losses. Therefore, playing up black gains while backing off of the Double V probably was viewed as a way to satisfy everyone.

Mrs. Vann also had definite economic reasons for toning down the *Courier*. Until 1942, black newspapers always had depended on circulation to earn a profit. Unlike their white counterparts, they made little money from advertising because virtually none of the white-owned corporations advertised to a black audience. Thus, the Double V was vitally important to the *Courier* because the campaign gained national attention from blacks and resulted in a welcome circulation boost. But in the spring and summer of 1942, the advertising situation changed. Faced with an excess-profits tax, American companies understandably began advertising in the black media rather than merely giving surplus income to the government as taxes.[61] The *Courier* was one of the main beneficiaries. By the end of the summer, Philip Morris cigarettes and Esso gasoline advertised regularly in the paper, and Old Gold and Chesterfield cigarettes, Pepsi-Cola, and Pabst Blue Ribbon beer followed by the end of the year. It would have been surprising if the *Courier*, with a lucrative new source of income, had not toned down lest it jeopardize the opportunity of obtaining still more accounts. More than one researcher in the 1940s noted the effect of increased profits on the editorial content of the black press. "Negro publishers are apt to be primarily business men whose interest in race welfare is secondary to their interest in selling newspapers," Thomas Sancton wrote in April 1943.[62] Five years later, Vishnu V. Oak agreed: "Many [black] newspapers seem quite willing to sell their pages to anyone who is willing to pay the proper price."[63]

Finally, the possibility exists that war events led to the decline of the Double V. Mrs. Vann may have felt it would hurt the black cause ultimately not to

tone down the paper's criticism of the government as the country's war fortunes improved. In 1942 the U.S. went on the military offensive, beginning with important naval victories in the Coral Sea and at Midway in May and June, respectively, continuing with the landing at Guadalcanal in August, and concluding that year with the Allied invasion of North Africa in November. By the time the latter occurred, the paper had become far less critical of the government.

Whatever the reasons for the decline of the Double V, it was obvious that the *Courier* had performed a significant service for blacks by the end of 1942. It had pushed hard for black rights at a perilous time when the government viewed such a push as possibly seditious because of the war, and black accomplishments had come rapidly during the year. Undoubtedly, some of the accomplishments would have occurred eventually without the Double V, simply because of the urgency of the war, but the campaign unquestionably hastened their implementation and magnitude. As such, the appetites of blacks were whetted for even more gains toward equality with whites, and the Double V had helped provide a momentum that would not end with the war.

NOTES

[1]James G. Thompson, "Should I Sacrifice to Live 'Half American'?" Pittsburgh *Courier*, Jan. 31, 1942. All footnote references are to the *Courier* unless indicated otherwise.

[2]" 'Double V' Clubs Unite, Fight for Abolition of Poll-Tax," July 18, 1942.

[3]P.L. Prattis, "The Role of the Negro Press in Race Relations," *Phylon* 7, no. 3 (Third Quarter 1946): 274.

[4]Lee Finkle, *Forum for Protest* (Cranbury, N.J., 1975), p. 131.

[5]Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953* (Columbia, Mo., 1969), pp. 124-129.

[6]See *ibid.*; and Finkle, *Forum for Protest*, pp. 108-128.

[7]Feb. 7, 1942.

[8]"The Courier's Double 'V' for a Double Victory Campaign Gets Country-Wide Support," Feb. 14, 1942.

[9]See photographs on March 14 and 28, April 25, May 2, June 6, and Aug. 8 and 22.

[10]"Readers Want Double 'V' Made Into Pins, Emblems," Feb. 21, 1942.

[11]March 14, 1942.

[12]"Means More Race Interest," March 7, 1942.

[13]See "Means New Day for the Race," March 7, 1942; " 'Double V' Is Tops!" March 14, 1942; and "An Important Campaign," April 4, 1942.

[14]"Lauds 'Double V,' " June 13, 1942.

[15]"Enthusiasms 1,000 Per Cent," March 28, 1942.

[16]Edgar T. Rouzeau, " 'Prejudice an Enemy of Democracy' Rouzeau," Feb. 28, 1942.

[17]Frank E. Bolden, " 'We Want Full Participating Rights in War to Save Democracy' – Bolden," March 7, 1942.

[18]"The Double V Campaign," March 28, 1942.

[19]"All Americans Can Rally Around the 'Double V' Slogan," March 21, 1942.

[20]" 'Double V' Creed," April 11, 1942.

[21]"Why Our Slogan Is 'Double V,' " Aug. 8, 1942.

[22]See "Double V Game in St. Louis Thrills Thousands as Yanks Win," June 13, 1942; and "Industrial School Girls Plant 'VV' Garden," Aug. 1, 1942.

[23]April 11, 1942.

[24]See " 'VV' Clubs, Affiliate Members of the 'VV' Clubs of America" May 2 and Aug. 1, 1942. States without Double V clubs included Arizona, Idaho, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, and Vermont.

[25]See " 'Double V' Club News," June 13 and Aug. 8, 1942; " 'Double V' Service Emblem," June 13, 1942; George S. Schuyler, "The World Today," Aug. 1, 1942; and "Charge Crosley Defies Executive Order 8802," Sept. 5, 1942.

[26]See " 'Double V' Club News," Aug. 1 and 29, 1942; photographs, Sept. 19 and Oct. 24, 1942; and "Christmas Boxes for Troops," Nov. 28, 1942.

[27]See "NAACP to Continue Fight for Equality," July 25, 1942; Horace Cayton, "UAW-CIO Convention Adopts Courier 'Double V' Program," Aug. 15, 1942; and "United Automotive Workers Resolution Adopting 'Double V' Slogan and Campaign," Aug. 15, 1942.

[28]See "Patriotic Drive Finds Favor with Divergent Groups," April 11, 1942; "Cleveland CME Council Asks 'Double Victory,' " April 11, 1942; "CME Confab Endorses Courier's 'Double V' Drive," May 23, 1942; and "Courier, NAACP Programs Adopted," Aug. 29, 1942.

[29]"NBC Baptists Endorse Courier's 'Double V' Drive," March 21, 1942.

[30]March 28, 1942.

[31]See "Easter As National Negro Victory Day Gaining Support," March 28, 1942; and "Race Pastors to Preach on 'Double Victory'," April 4, 1942.

[32]Billy Rowe, "Razaf, Johnson to Compose the 'Double V' Song," March 14, 1942.

[33]See Isadora Smith, "Nation Singing 'Yankee Doodle Tan,' New 'VV' Song, After Introduction on Radio," May 16, 1942; and "Lionel Hampton, Traveling by Train, Plays to 8,000 Whites at Miami Beach," July 4, 1942. The *Courier* announced on May 30 that it was selling sheet music.

[34]See photographs, April 11 and 18, 1942; and "Designer to Create 'Double V' Hat, Gown" and " 'VV' Theme Carried Out at Annual Spring Frolic," April 25, 1942.

[35]See photographs, March 14, 21, and 28, 1942; Chester L. Washington, "Sez Ches," March 21, 1942; "Bar Sepia Champ from Collegiate Fistic Meet; Jap Teammate OK!" April 18, 1942; and "Fans Name Ezzard Charles Boxing's 'VV' Fighter," Aug. 29, 1942.

[36]See Wilbert L. Holloway's comic strip, "Sunnyboy," Feb. 21, March 14 and 28, July 4, Aug. 22, and Sept. 19, 1942.

[37]The dashes, with the VV between them, were the longest-running Double V item in the *Courier*, lasting until Sept. 1, 1945. On the next day, the Japanese signed the formal surrender documents and the paper's next issue used " V ."

[38]Photograph, March 28, 1942.

[39]George S. Schuyler, " 'Make Democracy Real,' Says Double V Originator," April 18, 1942.

[40]"Ky. Pastor Speaks on 'Double V,' " July 25, 1942.

[41]Photograph, Feb. 27, 1943.

[42]While other studies have included anything in the black press that even vaguely expressed the Double V goals, this study is limited to those articles, photographs, and drawings that specifically mentioned the campaign or contained its "VV" symbol. This approach eliminates a problem faced in other Double V studies – deciding what material to include – and allows a more detailed, precise examination of the *Courier*'s campaign.

[43]The decline of the Double V in the *Courier* in 1942 was evident in the following: only seven of the 114 letters to the editor about the campaign appeared after June 27; only three of the 121 Double V drawings were used after August 22; no advertisements for Double V pins, stickers, and buttons showed up after October 10; the listings of Double V clubs disappeared after August 1; and the Double V Club News column did not appear after September 12.

[44]Finkle, *Forum for Protest*, pp. 63-65. Dabney, editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, criticized the *Courier* for "belittling America's war effort" while seeking a revolution in long-established customs and practices; Pegler, in his nationally-syndicated column, called the *Courier* and the Chicago *Defender* "dangerous" because of "their obvious, inflammatory bias in the treatment of news"; and Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and *Times*, said that "those Negro newspaper editors who demand 'all or nothing . . . ' are playing into the hands of the white demagogues."

[45]*Ibid.*, pp. 77 and 112. An Office of Facts and Figures report of June 25, 1942, substantiates Finkle's argument that southern black newspapers could not be as bold as their northern counterparts. "Negro newspapers in the South must, if they wish to exist, be more careful than newspapers in the North," it said. See Bureau of Intelligence, Office of Facts and Figures, "Special Intelligence Report No. 48," June 25, 1942, Record Group 44, E-171, Box 1845, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[46]Percy H. Johnson, ed., *N.W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, 1942* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 845; and J. Percy H. Johnson, ed., *N.W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspaper and Periodicals, 1943* (Philadelphia, 1943), p. 824. While no study has been made of why the circulation increase occurred, it probably was related to the war. Blacks wanted war news as it concerned them, and such news simply could not be found in white newspapers.

[47]George S. Schuyler, "Views and Reviews," May 27, 1942.

[48]Interview, Frank E. Bolden, Oct. 31, 1980.

[49]Walter White, *A Man Called White* (1948; reprint ed., Bloomington, Ind., 1970), p. 207.

[50]"Is Criticism to Be Suppressed?" May 16, 1942.

[51]Inteviews, Frank E. Bolden, Oct. 31, 1980, and Jan. 14, 1983.

[52]"Hysteria Over Negroes," May 2, 1942.

[53]Interview, Frank E. Bolden, Oct. 31, 1980.

[54]See Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Pittsburgh Courier: Dissemination of Japanese Propaganda Among the Negroes," Aug. 20, 1942, File No. 100-31159-33, FBI, Washington, D.C.; FBI, "Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States," undated, pp. 454-459, of 10B, #2420, Justice Department, FBI, Reports folder, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.; Bureau of Intelligence, Office of Facts and Figures, "Special Intelligence Report No. 38," May 22, 1942, Record Group 44, E-171, Box 1844, and Bureau of Intelligence, Office of War Information, "Negroes in a Democracy at War," Sept 4, 1942, Record Group 44, E-170, Box 1830, Groups and Organizations = II folder, both at the National Archives; Bureau of Intelligence, Office of Facts and Figures, "Survey of Intelligence Materials No. 14" and "No. 25," March 16 and May 27, 1942; and Bureau of Intelligence, Office of War Information, "Survey of Intelligence Materials Supplement to Survey No. 25," July 14, 1942. The three latter reports are in the President's Secretary's File, OWI, Roosevelt Library.

[55]Autobiographies include Horace R. Cayton, *Long Old Road* (Seattle, Wash., 1963) and George S. Schuyler, *Black and Conservative* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1966).

[56]Howard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence," *Journal of American History* 58, no. 3 (December 1971): 679.

[57]Interviews, Frank E. Bolden, Oct. 31 and Nov. 21, 1980.

[58]Photograph, June 21, 1942.

[59]Photograph, May 23, 1942.

[60]Andrew Buni, *Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1974), p. 325.

[61]There was no question that the excess-profits tax resulted in more advertising. A black publishers' magazine noted in February 1944 that the tax had brought about a "mild advertising boom" in black publications since the war began. See "A Memo to Negro Advertising Men," *PEP: Negro Publisher, Editor and Printer* (February 1944), p. 21.

[62]Thomas Sancton, "The Negro Press," *New Republic* (April 26, 1943), p. 560.

[63]Vishnu V. Oak, *The Negro Newspaper* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1948), pp. 47-48.

Hometown Radio in 1942: The Role of Local Stations During the First Year of Total War

By E. Albert Moffett

In the first weeks of 1942, a stunned and outraged America prepared to fight the world war it had tried to avoid. With battleships of the Pacific Fleet out of commission and with air power limited, the U.S. was unable to stop Japanese invasion forces. Island after island fell. In Africa, Field Marshal Rommel's *Afrika Korps* rolled over the British Eighth Army. The Allies were losing the war, and even President Roosevelt feared that American shores were in danger of invasion.[1]

The people who owned and operated radio stations across the United States were, like most Americans, apprehensive but at a loss to what they should do. Radio had not faced a total war before, there was no master plan ready for this one, and the Roosevelt administration was not offering any guidance.[2] Silence from the White House kindled fears in the industry the government would take over all radio stations, a power the President already possessed.[3] Stations reacted to the war emergency by leaping at any request from any government agency if there was even the slightest hint it would serve the war effort. In California, a squadron of Navy planes found itself in thick fog off San Diego and unable to find the landing field. The Navy base called a local radio station for help. An announcer broke into the program on the air and asked motorists in the vicinity to drive to the airport, surround the field, and turn on their headlights. Within minutes, the field was ringed with light and the squadron landed safely. An Iowa radio station offered a prize of a $25 War Bond for the child who collected the most scrap iron. Children of the town collected enough scrap to build fifty-seven light tanks.[4] In New Orleans, a radio station arranged a practice city-wide blackout. Microphone cable was strung to the top of the highest building, and an announcer, pretending to be an enemy bombardier, spotted lights showing from windows until the city was dark.[5] Unproved as a weapon in war and ignored by the commander-in-chief, radio had to prove its mettle.

This article examines how hometown radio stations reacted to the emergency during the first full year of World War II, when the job of home front mobilization was in the hands of the local stations and before it had been picked up by the national chains. [6] It is based primarily on materials in the George Foster Peabody Awards collections, the largest body extant of local programming for the period.[7]

American commercial radio in 1942 was not the unified, interconnected

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system it is today. About 900 stations were on the air, only half of which were affiliated with the national networks. [8] Radio station owners and operators saw they could perform five useful functions during the emergency: (1) keep the public informed through news and talk programs, (2) encourage civil defense, (3) participate directly in the war effort, (4) maintain civilian and military morale, and (5) justify the war by reminding Americans of the dangers to freedom posed by the Axis Powers. During the early part of the war, many stations turned nearly all their resources to all five, an action that led one comtemporary critic to comment that radio seemed to be "too busy galloping to bother much about where it is going or why it is going there."[9]

The networks, NBC Red and Blue, CBS, and Mutual gained success by providing their quality entertainment programs, and so news took up less than ten percent of their program time. Diversion from war worries provided by entertainment programming was an essential function of network radio, but Americans quickly learned how radio's immediacy made it a powerful source for fast-breaking world news.[10] The national chains gave to the world new benchmarks for war coverage from correspondents such as Edward R. Murrow, William L. Shirer, George Hicks, and others,[11] but their on-the-scene reports heard in nightly roundups were far from enough to satisfy an enormous appetite for war information. It was the local stations which filled the gap.

The significant contribution of local radio stations was in the sheer numbers and consistency of programs and campaigns. They preached national unity, sought and got unrestrained community participation, and showered listeners with unabashed patriotism – all helping to create a national consensus on the World War II home front.

Keeping the Public Informed

The news function was the most important for radio during the war. Radio was recognized as a legitimate news medium during the Munich Crisis of 1938, and its stature increased as the war widened.[12] From Pearl Harbor on, radio news gained listeners, prestige, and program time.[13] Networks carried the burden of reporting from the war theaters, and hometown stations recognized the need to broadcast that news to their local listeners. Network correspondents reported nightly from European capitals; their familiar voices, heard against a background of static and interference, made war seem closer and of real flesh and blood. All four national networks increased their news significantly. By the end of 1942, news made up 15.5 percent of the program time. CBS in 1942 put 1,385 hours of news on its lines, an average of slightly more than three and three-quarters hours daily.[14] Special news events gained the biggest audiences in radio's history, especially the President's messages to the nation. Roosevelt's address to Congress on January 6 attracted fifty-two percent of the national radio audience; the President's "Progress of the War" speech, a "Fireside Chat," drew the highest rating of any program ever – eighty-three percent of radio listeners.[15]

More stations affiliated with networks largely because of the importance of news from distant locations and the availability of special news broadcasts while beefing up their own news efforts. The typical station newscast was fifteen minutes long, read by a staff announcer who had rewritten the copy from wire service stories and added local flavor, interpretation, and individual style. Some stations added news analysts to their staffs to comment

on war news; a few sent correspondents overseas. WLW, Cincinnati, WGAR, Cleveland, and WSYR, Syracuse, assigned staff reporters to both Europe and the Pacific. Of the 104 accredited radio war correspondents, twenty-two were from sixteen local stations. [16]

Battle scene reporting was rare in the early 1940s, but one New York station managed an exclusive firsthand look at the war. It came when the U.S. Navy began hunting for German U-boats off the East and Gulf Coasts. The news director of WOR, New York, Dave Driscoll, was invited to go on an anti-submarine patrol. The only type of recording equipment in general use at that time was office dictation machines.[17] WOR engineers rigged a dictagraph recorder to operate from batteries. While on patrol off the coast of New Jersey, Driscoll was able to give an eyewitness account of the torpedoeing of an oil tanker and rescue of the crewmen. He thus became the first American broadcaster to describe the actions of sea warfare from the scene.[18]

The major thrust by stations in news came in the form of expanded newscast schedules as an outlet for the abundance of war copy. KFEL, Denver, expanded its news to a full hour to cover developments in the war and said it was the first in the country to do so. The news hour was named *Winning Our War*. Some stations broadcast news for specific audiences. KFBK, Sacramento, began *Young America Views the News* featuring students reading the news and adding their interpretations; WJNO, W. Palm Beach, Florida, in an area of several military bases, had *News for the Servicemen*; WHKC, Columbus, Ohio, had *Aviation's News Program of the Air*; WCAL, Northfield, Minnesota, featured *Scandinavian News Analysis*. A government survey in June showed radio had displaced newspapers as the public's primary source of news.[19]

Encouraging Civilian Defense

American civilians had ample cause for anxiety in the early weeks of the war. The day after Pearl Harbor, air raid sirens wailed over San Francisco, and Army officials told the Associated Press two flights of enemy planes had flown over the city, adding credence to the rumor that an aircraft carrier was lurking off the California coast.[20] On another day, air raid sirens were sounded in Manhattan in a test drill, but the few who heard them were more bewildered than apprehensive. The colorful mayor of New York City, Fiorello LaGuardia, had been appointed director of the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of the President, assistant director. Under their direction, OCD seemed incapable of putting together an effective civil defense program, and their leadership suffered more strain from newspaper criticisms for hiring entertainers and staging musical shows rather that building a defense program.

While this seeming lack of concern over civilian defense was being reported, other happenings caused more civilian jitters. The French liner *Normandie*, being refitted as a troop carrier in New York Harbor, caught fire and capsized. Espionage was blamed but never proved. A Japanese submarine shelled an oil refinery near Santa Barbara, California, doing no damage but convincing residents along the West Coast they were not safe from warfare. Three nights later, anti-aircraft batteries around Los Angeles opened fire on what was reported to be flights of Japanese planes. Three persons died from heart attacks, scores were hurt from debris, and many panicked, but there was no evidence enemy planes were ever in the area. The night of anti-aircraft

fireworks earned the sobriquet, "The Battle of Los Angeles."[21] German submarines continued to lurk along the Atlantic seaboard, and their silent and unseen presence brought additional fears when it was learned Nazi saboteurs had been put ashore in New Jersey and North Carolina. All eight were arrested by the FBI, but the uneasy realization that Germans could come ashore undetected caused coastal residents to keep their doors locked at nights.

In the large cities and coastal areas, touched by grim evidence of war, anxiety was higher than in other parts of the country. Most Americans resumed their lifestyles just as before Pearl Harbor. "Don't yu know there's a war on?" became a common national slogan because it was easy to forget. It was in this schema that stations found a need to reawaken listeners to the dangers. KDAL in Duluth, Minnesota, quickly turned out a thirteen-week series of dramatizations, *The Home Front* " . . . prompted by an alarming awareness of public apathy." KXO in El Centro, California, developed a series " . . . to educate them concerning their attitudes in case of war, raids or emergency." WOR in New York City began a minute of prayer each evening at six and turned over most of its programs to civilian defense. A free air raid precautions manual was offered to listeners. WDOD, Chattanooga, produced a thirteen-week series of programs instructing local residents on health, nutrition, blackouts, evacuation of civilians, and other subjects. The series was named *Civilian Defense*. Listeners to KTRB in Modesto, California, heard " . . . the battle of the world is in progress and all freedom is at stake." The station warned, "It is true the United States have never lost war, but neither has Japan. We the people of the United States of America could lose this war, but we will not if . . . ." Chicagoans heard about *Today's War and You* on WBBM; residents of Harrisburg, Pennslyvania, were told about *America in Action* over WHP, while in Philadelphia, listeners to WFIL heard the *Voice of Victory*. WLW in Cincinnati also broadcast a *Voice of Victory*. Even though enemy bombers were not dropping their payloads on American cities, authorities as high as the President had said they could; so local stations did what they could to put their cities on alert.

Contributing to the War Effort

Franklin Roosevelt was always sensitive to public opinion, but as America shifted from defense mobilization to war, he either misjudged the intensity of public support or ignored it because he didn't know how to use it. In either case, the national crusade to join in the war effort was in danger of sliding back to "business as usual," a mood helped along by the administration's promising that war would not interfere wth social reforms, and the White House's not moving to head off labor union walkouts and strikes.[22] When air raids, invasions, and massive sabotage failed to occur, resentment of the war's inconveniences began to replace apprehension. It was in the midst of this mood that the National Association of Broadcasters wrote to its members:

> The government has just handed radio the biggest selling job it has ever tackled. Here it is: Sell the people the war production program. Sell it, and sell it hard. Sell it morning, noon and night. Sell it until there is sweat and action on the production line to match the blood and action on the battle line.[23]

Since no priorities were forthcoming from the White House, individual

federal agencies promoted their own programs and services, deluging stations with requests from the administration's tangle of war bureaucracy. Each request came wrapped in urgency and essentiality. How could a patriotic program director turn down requests from the Office of Emergency Management, or the Office of Price Administration, or the War Projects Administraion, or the U.S. Department of Agriculture, or the Office of Civilian Defense, or the Treasury Department, or the War Department? To be safe, stations tried to satisfy all the requests.

Some stations, such as WTIC in Hartford, Connecticut, lumped war appeals together. WTIC devoted two broadcasting hours daily to "publicizing America's war effort." Other stations spread the messages through the day, such as WGAR in Cleveland which scattered two- to three-minute messages throughout its schedule of programs. KFEL in Denver joined with the Colorado State Department of Education to produce home front recruiting programs "to enlist as many people of all ages as possible to help in America's war effort." WNOE in New Orleans began a drive to raise money "to purchase a bomber for General Claire L. Chennault," the Flying Tiger commander. KTFI in Twin Falls, Idaho, created a program called *Something to Go By*. The station said it "combines all information it can from OFF, OEM, USDA and etc. . . ."

In the six months from April through September 1942 local stations broadcast approximately three million war announcements and some 350,000 individual war related programs. Most of the programs were fifteen minutes in length; and, since recordings were not common, most were live. Recruiting for the services and war industries was the topic for the greatest number of programs.

Locally Originated War Broadcasts
May-October, 1942

SUBJECT	SPOTS	PROGRAMS
U.S. Treasury (War Bonds)	985,430	14,760
Army Recruiting	248,830	6,050
Navy Recruiting	266,140	14,010
Marine Recruiting	189,080	10,500
Coast Guard Recruiting	134,600	1,370
Civil Service Recruiting	133,090	210
Recruiting of Shipyard Workers	9,079	•
Recruiting of Doctors, Nurses	90,680	2,031
War Industry Training	72,810	3,060
Army Emergency Relief	24,140	760
United Service Organization (USO)	96,000	3,750
Red Cross	124,430	3,360
Civilian Defense	100,630	14,770
Don't Spread Rumors	5,650	290
Victory Gardens	7,620	970
The Home Front	•	2,750
War Agencies[1]	436,520	42,300
Nutrition	6,640	2,520
Fuel Rationing	30,740	•

• None listed

[1]Office of War Information (OWI), Office of Emergency Mobilization (OEM), Office of Price Administration (OPA), War Production Board (WPB), and the Department of Agriculture (USDA).

From before declaration of war through part of the post-war period, the single most important effort for both local stations and networks was the sale of War Bonds. Under direction of Secretary of Treasury Henry Morganthau, no other single war related program was heard as often or proved so successful.[25] Stations demonstrated creativity and energy in helping finance the war through sale of the bonds. WBBM, Chicago, produced a two-hour afternoon musical program *Victory Matinee*, daily through the summer of 1942, just to sell bonds. KDKA in Pittsburgh sold $663,000 in bonds through its *Bondwagon*. KOIN, Portland, Oregon, sold $3,500,000 through its *Victory Harvest*. WLW in Cincinnati sold $100,000 by direct mail. Not to be outdone, WCKY, also in Cincinnati, brought Kay Kyser, Bing Crosby, Hugh Herbert, Fred Astaire, Ilona Massey, and Marlene Dietrich to its studios to make bond appeals to the citizens of the Cincinnati area. WSYR in Syracuse broadcast from the main ballroom of the Hotel Syracuse its campaign to buy "A bomber a day to keep the Jap away." Bond sales in Syracuse increased thirty percent during the week of the campaign. WKBW in Buffalo borrowed a technique from children's entertainment programming and organized its own "Commando Corps" of children nine to fifteen years of age. A member's rank was determined by how many bonds he or she sold. WRUF in Gainesville, Florida, arranged a "John Allison Day," which the station said was a "fitting tribute to Gainesville's first hero of World War II." During the day, three large coffins labeled "Hitler," "Hirohito," and "Mussolini" were displayed. As a War Bond was sold, a nail was driven in whichever coffin the buyer chose. By 6 p.m., bonds worth $53,000 had been sold.

Radio campaigns were proving so successful for the sale of War Bonds that in July the Treasury Department asked stations to begin selling Bonds from their own studios, and 621 stations agreed to do so. The National Association of Broadcasters estimated that from April through September, local stations broadcast 985,430 spot announcements and 14,760 individual programs urging Americans to buy War Bonds.

Some control of the avalanche of government requests came when, in June of 1942, President Roosevelt created the Office of War Information, with responsibility for coordinating war information. In September, the OWI released its *Local Stations Allocation Plan*. Non-network affiliates were to carry twenty-five messages a day, regional affiliates twenty each day, and basic network affiliates fifteen messages each day.[26]

Maintaining Morale

There were no general orders from Washington directing radio to preserve home front morale, no central propaganda agency telling stations what to do or say. Keeping up the hometown morale was a function that seemed to come naturally and for which radio was well-suited.

WSAV in Savannah introduced the novel program *Flowers for Savannah's Own*, which was described as "a program dedicated to saluting those men and women of Savannah who are in the service of their country." Three names were selected each week, and the florist who sponsored the program sent the mother of each a "Victory Corsage to be worn to church Sunday." WICC,

Bridgeport, Connecticut, produced a series of thirty-minute programs featuring workers from the eight leading war industries. The station said the series, *Let Freedom Sing*, was a "gigantic morale and entertainment effort."

Some stations addressed the morale problem of soldiers away from home. Servicemen stationed at bases within the United States were hometown boys only back in their own hometowns; so stations joined in the effort to make them feel welcome in their new, temporary locations. With the rush of draftees to training camps, WTTM in Tenton, New Jersey, started the series *You're in the Army Now*, with weekly broadcasts from the Reception Center at Fort Dix, " . . . where New Jersey boys go after induction." The program featured Marie Maxwell, the official War Department Hostess at Fort Dix. On Christmas day, WROK in Rockford, Illinois, broadcast a two-hour special program featuring greetings from Rockford-area Marines who were in training at San Diego and couldn't get furloughs or transportation home for Christmas. The 200 were the largest contingent of Marines enlisted from one recruiting substation. WCKY in Cincinnati produced a series based on handing out free cigarettes to servicemen passing through the city. It was appropriately titled *Smokes for Servicemen*.

Justifying the War

In the First World War, the Committee on Public Information, the federal government's first propaganda agency, manufactured stories of German atrocities.[27] Such inventions were intended to create hatred for the enemy so Americans would support the war, to ease the national dissonance brought on by the need to destroy other humans. Without prompting from the government, the American communications industry of 1942 fell to the job with a zeal unmatched even by World War I propaganda. Americans were told to hate all things German, Italian, and Japanese, to expect slavery and butchery if the war were lost. These messages poured from motion pictures, magazines, and many of the 900 radio stations. When the Roosevelt administration created the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942, the hate theme was given government sanction. One of the first publications of OWI was a "Radio War Guide" of government themes to be emphasized on programs, stressing the nature of Axis tyranny.

Lest We Forget, a program series produced by WMPD in Peoria, Illinois, was one of the immediate results of OWI's guidelines. Built around its general themes, one program was a dramatized account of what life would be like if the Nazis were to occupy the United States in 1947. Another dramatized cruelty of the Japanese and Nazis to slave workers. The writing style was expansive and melodromatic and intended to convince Americans they should fear and despise the enemy. One line, typical of the narration, said, "Death is sweeping across the earth's horizon like a mad horseman, his laughter howls like the screech of a two-ton shell that spatters itself against the ancient walls of an English church." The program presented its dramatization and then ended with an appeal for listeners to call the station to purchase War Bonds.

The existing industry structure required OWI to provide material to 900 separate stations and be prepared to answer questions and requests concerning the material. From the government's viewpoint, a stronger network system and distribution of transcribed programs were attractive expedients. The OWI arranged for program series on all four networks in hopes they

would satisfy the demand for such programming. In addition, one program series was produced under supervision of the OWI and distributed on electrical transcriptions to individual stations in 1942. It was *You Can't Do Business with Hitler*. Critics said the series "smacked of propaganda."[28]

As 1942 was closing, programming exhorting Americans to "get behind the war effort" was winding down, often replaced by expressions of hatred and desire for revenge. An example of the change was in a program produced by WFIL, Philadelphia, to commemorate the first anniversary of Pearl Harbor Day. Featuring a studio orchestra playing an original score, the story line was simply a businessman dictating memos to Axis leaders. Snarling bitterly, the narrator said, "We have black and sinister accounts to settle with you three gangsters for December 7, 1941. You're equally responsible for the birthday cake we have today with one bloody flickering candle." When the memos were finished, the actor said, "That's all, Mrs. Smith. Sign it, 'Revengefully Yours.' "

As the year ended, *Broadcasting* magazine editorialized that perhaps radio had been too effective in its war effort. "Too much of the same, dinned into the ears over and over again, can defeat the end in view . . .," the editorial said.[29]

A new plan was devised by OWI for 1943, with OWI producing a daily transcribed program for stations. To help defray costs, the programs could be sold to local sponsors. The OWI also ruled no agency could ask a station for air time. Network programming through OWI was expanded, and local station programming curtailed.[30] For local stations, it was, at last, relief from the frenetic pace that had accompanied the first months of war.

Conclusions

Hometown stations faced up well to the challenge of total war. Americans at the start of the war looked for some authority to tell them how to wage war. From Washington came only a confused flood of requests for programs as individual government agencies competed among themselves for publicity; natonal communication systems were not in place or in the process of gearing up for the job. The results were confusion and overload. The radio industry was concerned for its own welfare but also was dedicated to the higher cause of victory for the sake of freedom and safety of the nation; consequently, the perceived needs of the people were addressed with enthusiasm and volunteered resources. It was a time of common purpose and uncommon zeal by nearly an entire communications industry.

Because of the perceived needs, the stations created a unique and effective genre of programs. The scripts were melodramatic, sometimes childishly simplistic, but that was a style Americans were accustomed to hearing. In dramas, sailors never cursed, women were pure and chaste, and factory workers spent their breaks and lunch hours discussing critical national issues. The dramatization was the cheapest type of program for a station to produce. Such a program could be effective by using just two or three staff announcers, background music from the studio organ, and sound effects. With these elements, a battle could be fought, ships sunk, saboteurs thwarted, all to make a war-related point. Through the device of radio drama, war bonds were sold, housewives were motivated to save bacon grease, teenagers were convinced to spend their hours after school collecting scrap metal.

Of the same genre but more expensive for stations were the remote

broadcasts – those originating outside the studios. The programs were live, and the remote signal was fed over rented telephone lines. Radio stations broadcast from hotel ballrooms, Army camps, recruiting stations, airplane factories, and anywhere else that seemed appropriate for a "remote." The Wartime Censorship Code shut down impromptu, unscripted interviews, such as man-on-the-street broadcasts, but scripted programs featuring guest movie stars and dance bands were allowed, and they made up an important segment of radio's wartime programming.

Whatever the types of programs or their production elements, however, it was their subject matter that made them what they were and that was unique to the times.

Despite its importance, hometown radio's leading roll in the call to war lasted only briefly. It started shortly after the Pearl Harbor attack and began to disappear before the end of 1942. Organization of the Office of War Information in June 1942 gave direction to government requests. In addition, nearly all local stations established affiliations with national chains. Of even greater significance, the tide of war turned from defeat to a march toward victory. The threat of enemy attacks became less plausible, the nation's industry poured out munitions and equipment, and the mood of the nation shifted from anxiety to a desire for peace. Faced with manpower and equipment shortages, stations saw a rapidly dissipating need for an aroused nation and happily surrendered the job of producing most of their own programs.

When the nation was swept into the war, the radio industry perceived urgent needs for civil defense, for contributions to the war effort, for strengthened morale, for justification of the killing that is part of any war, and for informing citizens about war developments and issues. Hometown radio in the first year of war unflinchingly devoted all its resources to meet each of these perceived needs until more efficient and effective national systems could be put into place and, while doing so, helped produce an exceptional and so far unduplicated national spirit.

NOTES

[1]From the start of mobilization the Roosevelt administration stressed the need to defend the nation from foreign threats rather than the possibility of participation in a European war. See Ralph Louis Towne, Jr., "Roosevelt and the Coming of World War II: An Analysis of the War Issues Treated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in Selected Speeches, October 5, 1937 to December 7, 1941." Dissertation, Michigan State University 1961, p. 74. Towne observes that from the spring of 1940 until Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt warned the Axis powers posed an immediate danger to life and property in the United States.

[2]Sherman Dryer. *Radio in Wartime* (New York, 1942), p. 3. See also, Edward M. Kirby and Jack W. Harris. *Star-Spangled Radio* (Chicago, 1948), who summarized war coverage by observing, "American radio was lucky. It ad-libbed its way through its first war – and without government control."

[3]Federal Communications Commission, *The Communications Act of 1934*, Sec. 606 (c.). The section states in part, "Upon proclamation by the President that there exists war or a threat of war . . . the President, if he deems it necessary in the interest of national security or defense, may suspend or amend, for such time as he may see fit the rules and regulations applicable to any or all stations . . . ." The silence from the White House, however, carried no such intent; rather, it came as a result of the Roosevelt style of manipulating information agencies in his administration. See, e.g., Robert L. Bishop and LaMar S. Mackay. "Mysterious Silence,

Lyrical Scream," *Journalism Monographs*, 19 (May, 1971), p. 3.; and Richard W. Steele, "Preparing the Public for War: Efforts to Establish a National Propaganda Agency, 1940-1941," *The American Historical Review*, 75 (1970), pp. 1640-53. Elmer Davis, the CBS news correspondent who became director of the Office of War Information, was aware of FDR's manipulations and sought to prevent such in future conflicts. See Elmer Davis, "Report to the President," *Journalism Monographs*, 7 (August, 1968).

[4]*NAB Reports*, 10 (June 19, 1942), p. 341. These accounts were included in testimony given by Neville Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, before a Congressional committee investigating radio participation in the war effort. Until the annual NAB convention in May 1942, only individual stations were allowed membership in the organization; consequently, its newsletter reflected a station orientation. At the 1942 convention, networks were allowed full membership privileges, but only after bitter charges that the chains were seeking control rather than mere participation. See Les C. Johnson, "Let the Broadcaster Speak His Mind," *Broadcasting*, 26 (Feb. 28, 1944), pp. 11 and 58. Details of the convention itself can be found in *Broadcasting*, 22 (May 18, 1942), p. 7.

[5]WWL, New Orleans, La., entry material in the Peabody 1942 Collection. To date, no numerical system has been used for cataloging materials in the collections. The materials are divided only by year. They are physically housed in the Special Collections Archives, Main Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

[6]A lack of readily available source material has meant this part of broadcasting's history has not been told before. See, e.g., Erik Barnouw, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*, V. II, *The Golden Web* (New York, 1968). Barnouw devotes more than sixty pages to the war years, but with a network orientation and without mention of contributions made by the 900 individual radio stations. Broadcast historians have been faced with an almost total absence of material from local stations during the war, for the simple reason that few local programs were recorded. The recording process required apparatus that cut grooves in blank recording discs. It was an expensive luxury that stations avoided unless there was an obvious and direct benefit to the station. The Peabody Awards competition furnished a reason for recordings of programs to be made. Entries submitted in the competition were not returned to stations unless specifically requested, which has resulted in a huge inventory of early local recordings, but it has been virtually untapped by historians. The Peabody Awards were first given in 1940, a convenient happenstance for those interested in the World War II era. Summaries of wartime activities by networks also can be found in, e.g., Sidney W. Head and Christopher H. Sterling, *Broadcasting in America*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1982); and Kenneth H. Bartlett, "Radio War Programs," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 29 (February, 1943), pp. 100-103. Sammy R. Danna, "The Rise of Radio News," *Freedom of Information Center Report No. 211*, School of Journalism, University of Missouri at Columbia, November, 1968, pp. 1-7, stops its account in the mid-1930s with the end of the press-radio war. A second article by Danna, "The Press Radio War," in Lawrence W. Lichty and Malachi C. Topping, eds., *American Broadcasting: A Source Book on the History of Radio and Television* (New York, 1975), pp. 344-350, includes a war section that recounts some of the activities of CBS, NBC, and Mutual. In the two articles taken together, Danna gives the impression that all important advances in radio news after 1932 were made by the networks. The other articles concerning radio during World War II in the Lichty-Topping anthology are all network-oriented. See also Kirby and Harris, *Star Spangled Radio*. Kirby was director of public relations for the National Association of Broadcasters until the war mobilization. Included in the Kirby-Harris text is a colorful recounting of War Department frenzy on Pearl Harbor day which, of itself, presents proof of the involvement of local stations in national affairs at that time. There are a number of summaries available which, when taken together, provide a synthesis of the homefront during the period. See, e.g., Lee Kennett, *For the Duration* (New York, 1985); Geoffrey Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph* (New York, 1974); *While You Were Gone*, Jack Goodman, ed. (New York, 1946). In all of them, consideration of radio's role is limited to the networks and government agencies. The only departure seems to be Lawrence W. Lichty, "The Nation's Station: A History of Radio Station WLW." Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1964. In summary, station programming is prominent in broadcast histories until the approach of World War II, when nearly all mention of stations abruptly ends, and radio's war involvement is told only through the activities of the networks and government agencies.

[7]Entries in the Peabody competition were made by the stations themselves and reflect what station owners and program directors felt

were their best efforts. A total of forty-nine stations submitted 104 entries which were related to the war effort in 1942. Eight stations submitted 15 defense-related entries in 1940, the first year of the Peabody Awards, and eight submitted 13 in 1941. While the entries included material from stations owned and operated by the national networks, no entries were made by the networks themselves. All stations (and networks as well) were invited to compete each year and supplied entry forms. For 1941 and 1942, listener groups were established to seek out superior programming. As a consequence, while the materials may not reflect valid proportions for all of American commercial broadcasting, they accurately depict the activities of the nation's leading broadcasters during the period. Results of this article were based on thirteen case studies of recorded programs from 1942 and qualitative analysis of all materials in the collection from 1940, 1941, and 1942. For more background on the Peabody Awards and entries, see Barbara Ann Potter, "The George Foster Peabody Radio and Television Awards: Highlights of a Fort-Year History." Thesis, University of Georgia, 1980. A handy reference source for recordings of radio (and television) broadcasts is found in Donald G. Godfrey, *A Directory of Broadcast Archives* (Washington, 1983).

[8]Dryer, p. 41. For a more detailed history of network affiliation, see Federal Communications Commission, Network Inquiry Special Staff, *The Historical Evolution of the Commercial Network Broadcast System* (Washington, D.C., 1979).

[9]Dryer, p. 3.

[10]"Networks Increase War-Effort Time," *Broadcasting*, 24 (Jan. 18, 1943), p. 10. A summary of this trend can be found in Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting* (Belmont, Calif., 1978), p. 215. For the seminal research that indicated the growing popularity of radio news, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Franks N. Stanton, *Radio Research 1941* (New York, 1941).

[11]Bruce Robertson, "War News Flare Finds Networks Ready," *Broadcasting*, 18 (April 15, 1940), p. 17. For the network bureaus in place by Pearl Harbor Day, see "Attack Finds Network News Setups Ready," *Broadcasting*, 21 (Dec. 15, 1941), p. 9. Descriptions of network coverage of the war can be found in nearly all general broadcast histories, and some of the correspondents wrote memoirs following the war, providing even greater detail.

[12]See Paul W. White, "Radio News: Its Past, Present and Future," *Journalism Quarterly*, 23 (June, 1946), pp. 137-45. See also H.V. Kaltenborn, *I Broadcast the Crisis* (New York, 1938), and corpus, Crisis: A Report From the Columbia Broadcasting System (New York, 1938). Interesting details of the effects of the success of these broadcasts within the CBS corporate structure were written by William S. Paley, *As It Happened* (Garden City, N.Y., 1979), pp. 130-42.

[13]"Networks Increase War-Time Effort," *Broadcasting*, 23 (Dec. 28, 1942), p. 58. In 1945 the National Opinion Research Center conducted survey research on radio popularity. The results can be found in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harry Field, *The People Look at Radio* (Chapel Hill, 1946). The survey reported 94 percent of Americans credited radio for speedy reporting of news.

[14]Sterling and Kittross, p. 215.

[15]"Radio Reaches Peak," *Broadcasting*, 23 (Jan. 18, 1943), p. 10.

[16]Kirby and Harris, pp. 268-70. The pages cited are for a "Roster of Radio War Correspondents."

[17]R.E.B. Hickman, "The Development of Magnetic Recording," *Magnetic Recording Handbook: Theory, Practice and Servicing of Domestic and Professional Tape and Wire Recorders* (London, 1956), reprinted in Lichty and Topping, pp. 68-72.

[18]WOR, New York City, entry material in the Peabody 1942 Collection. Driscoll later represented his station as a war correspondent in Europe and the Mediterranean, as seen from the Kirby and Harris roster. (See note 16.)

[19]"U.S. Finds Radio is Main News Source," *Broadcasting*, 22 (June 22, 1942), pp. 7-8.

[20]A.A. Hoehling, *Home Front, U.S.A.* (New York, 1943), p. 9. Later investigation indicates neither the bomber flights nor the aircraft carrier was ever there.

[21]Kennett, pp. 18-47.

[22]Perrett, p. 226. See also David Hinshaw, *The Home Front* (New York, 1943), for a general but partisan critique of the FDR administration during the first year of the war.

[23]*NAB Reports*, 10 (March 6, 1942), p. 123.

[24]*NAB Reports*, 10 (Sept. 4, 1942), p. 529, and 10 (Dec. 4, 1942), p. 677.

[25]"Better War Loan Plans in Process," *Broadcasting*, 25 (Nov. 15, 1943), p. 60. See also *NAB Reports*, 11 (Oct. 19, 1943), p. 443.

[26]*NAB Reports, 11 (Aug. 17, 1943), p. 361.*

[27]Stephen L. Vaughan, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines* (Chapel Hill, 1980), pp. 61-97.

[28]Dryer, p. 342. The WMPD, Peoria, Ill. entry material in the Peabody 1942 Collection specifically cites the "Radio War Guide" as its source for the theme of its program, *Lest We Forget*.

[29]"Radio Fatigue," *Broadcasting, 22 (Nov. 30, 1942), p. 30.*

[30]"OWI Offers Program for Sponsorship," *Broadcasting, 24 (Jan. 4, 1943), p. 9.*

The Jewish Contribution to American Journalism

By Stephen J. Whitfield

The subject of the relationship of Jews to American journalism is entangled in paradox. From the dawn of their emancipation in western and then central Europe in the nineteenth century, their role in the press has long been an obsession of their enemies. The vastly disproportionate power that Jews are alleged to wield through the media has long been a staple of the antisemitic imagination, dwarfing the interest that scholars have shown in this problem. Such disparity merits the slight correction and compensation offered in this essay, which, after briefly noting the best-known criticisms expressed against Jews in the media in the United States, seeks to specify the character of Jewish participation in the development of the American press.

Henry Adams became the most accomplished historian of the country which both his grandfather and great-grandfather had served as President. But on the subject of one immigrant group, Adams was, as Secretary of State John Hay remarked, "clean daft. The Jews are all the press, all the cabinets, all the gods and all weather. I was amazed to see so sensible a man so wild."[1] But the most mischievous and important of American Judeophobes was probably the wealthiest citizen of the world's wealthiest country. More than anyone else, Henry Ford made the Czarist forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* famous throughout the world. This document, which warned of a racial cabal conspiring to dominate Christendom, helped shape the editorial policy of the weekly that Henry Ford owned, the Dearborn *Independent*. From 1920 until 1927 antisemitic columns ran in this newspaper, and the series titled "The International Jew" was later published in book form. The first in the series (May 22, 1920) set the tone. After observing the tentacles of Jewish financiers within the American economy, the editorial announced that "Jewish journalists are a large and powerful group here . . . They absolutely control the circulation of publications throughout the country." Later in 1920 the magnate's newspaper warned that from the northeastern section of the United States, "poisonous infections of revolutionary doctrine" were being "spread throughout the country upon the wings of 'liberal' publications subsidized by Jewish money."[2]

Though Ford was forced to repudiate his antisemitism by the end of that decade, this theme surfaced in another hero from the 1920s who shared Ford's isolationism. Warning against American intervention in the Second World War, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh identified "the three most important groups which have been pressing this country toward war . . . the British, the

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Jewish and the Roosevelt administration." In his radio speech in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 11, 1941, Lindbergh proclaimed that the Jews' "greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government." He provided the helpful advice that, by pushing their case for military intervention against Nazi Germany, Jews would only encourage antisemitism.[3]

Whatever Lindbergh's own responsiblity for fomenting such bigotry, a stress upon the conspiratorial power of Jewry became inconsistent during the struggle against the Third Reich, disreputable after the Holocaust, remorselessly sour after the establishment of democratic Israeli sovereignty. But in the limited instances when public accusations against Jews have erupted in post-war America, their influence in the media has been commonly mentioned. Take one politician in particular. When Vice President Spiro Agnew blasted the liberal slant of the eastern "establishment" press – primarily television – in 1969 (in the same city as Lindbergh's speech of almost three decades earlier), it was the most vigorous, deliberate assault by a leading official on the press in American political history. Unlike Lindbergh, Agnew made no reference to Jews. That did not prevent some of his more enthusiastic supporters from drawing one conclusion from the Vice President's condemnation of news organizations in which Jews happened to be prominent, and media figures as well as the American Jewish Committee noticed an increase in antisemitic hate mail. Even as Agnew protested that he was being unfairly smeared for having instigated this vitriolic attack, he told Barbara Walters (herself a Jew) on NBC's *Today Show* that a "Jewish cabal" exercised mastery of the American media, permitting "Zionist influences" to tilt American policy unduly toward Israel. Agnew repeated this charge in published interviews and even in his novel, *The Canfield Decision* (1976). Two ex-speechwriters for the Vice President, William Safire and Victor Gold, denounced Agnew's remarks, which President Ford called "wrong, both substantially and morally."[4] A recent Democratic Party aspirant for Gerald Ford's former job, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, also took notice of Jewish influence on American banks and the media.[5]

And yet the paradox indentified at the outset of this essay bears emphasis: the subject has captivated the adversaries of the Jews far more than it has independent scholars. In a biography of Mordecai Manuel Noah, the first significant journalist of Jewish origin in the New World, Professor Jonathan D. Sarna states flatly: "There is no history of Jews in American journalism."[6] The researcher is therefore required to begin with specialized monographs, such as biographical portraits of individuals appearing in the enclycopedias and reference works. One journalist's book, Stephen D. Issacs' *Jews and American Politics*, does incude a chapter speculation on the apparent over-representation of such journalists in contemporary public life. But the topic is not treated in a historical – much less a general scholarly – way; nor is the overview on the subject of journalism in the *Enclyclopedia Judaica* interpretative. It too is primarily biographical in orientation (and European in emphasis). The only previous scholarly article on the role of Jews in American journalism highlights the critiques that have been rendered of the problematic nature of the press itself.[7] The rest is "no comment."

In breaking this silence, a scholar must weigh without apology the validity of the charge of Jewish over-representation in the media. The law of averages

operates so imperviously that it is possible even for an antisemite to be correct some of the time. But in this case the raw statistics give little credence to bigotry. The historical evidence also indicates, however, that journalism has been conspicously attractive for talented Jews, whsoe role merits analysis and explanation.

None but recent data are available on this subject; but the warnings of Adams, Ford, Lindbergh *et al.* are, quantitatively, without foundation. Nearly 1800 daily newspapers are currently published in the United States. Jews own about fifty, or less than three percent, which is the proportion of Jews in the general American population. Even when these particular newspapers' circulation (eight percent) is taken into account, it is evident that newspaper publishing is hardly an awesome sign of Jewish entrepreneurship.[8] There are nearly 9,000 radio stations and more than 600 television network affiliates, but no data on the ethnic and religious identification of their owners appear to be extant. According to the only published figures on the percentage of Jews among American editors and reporters, the 3.3 percent so identified is – again – only slightly above their proportion in the general population.[9]

The most newsworthy American cities do, however, seem to be covered by a large fraction of journalists of Jewish birth. According to a 1976 study, a quarter of the Washington press corps was of Jewish background. A volume on Jewish economic history published a year earlier claims that "it has been estimated that . . . 40 % of . . . (New York's) journalists are Jews." But the author, Marcus Arkin, fails to disclose the basis of this estimate, or even its source. Jews comprise a quarter of the population of New York. But since the city is the media capital of the country, the journalists who work there have come from everywhere else, which means that Arkin's estimate is therefore almost certainly too high, perhaps much too high.[10]

But some news organizations are more respected and important than others. According to one recent survey, the reporters whose beat is Washington, D.C., acknowledge that they are most influenced by (1) television networks, (2) weekly newsmagazines, (3) the wire services, and (4) four newspapers – the Washington *Post*, the New York *Times*, the Washington *Star*, and the *Wall Street Journal*.[11] With the exception of the wire services (the Associated Press and United Press International), these are institutions in which Jews have tended to congregate.

For example, a 1979 survey revealed that twenty-seven percent of the employees of the *Times*, the *Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, the three networks, and the Public Broadcasting System were of Jewish origin. Fifty-eight percent of the producers and editors at ABC were Jews.[12] They have been conspicuous at the top. The Sulzberger family retains its ownership of the New York *Times*, whose executive editor is A.M. Rosenthal. Jews also hold the other top six editorial positions at the nation's most prestigious daily.[13] Eugene Meyer had purchased the Washington *Post* at an auction in 1933; and though his daughter, Katherine Graham, was raised as a Lutheran, and executive editor Benjamin C. Bradlee is a Brahmin, their editors have included Howard Simons, Harry Rosenfeld, and Barry Sussman. The *Post's* Pulitzer Prize-winning coverage of the Watergate scandal benefitted rather substantially from the efforts of one of the two most famous local reporters in history, Carl Bernstein. At the *Wall*

Street Journal three of the top four executives are Jewish: Warren Phillips, Peter Kann, and Norman Perlstine. Marvin Stone was editor of *U.S. News and World Report*, long the extended shadow of David Lawrence; it is now owned by Morton Zuckerman. Edward Kosner was editor of *Newsweek*. The editor-in chief of *Time* is Henry Anatole Grunwald, who began as the magazine's part-time copy boy. William Paley was chairman of the board of CBS, while Fred Friendly and Richard Salant have been presidents of its news division. The Sarnoff family was long dominant at NBC, whose news division was headed by Richard Wald. Leonard Goldenson was president of ABC, while the executive producer of its evening news was Av Westin. The president of the Public Broadcasting System was Lawrence Grossman. The president of National Public Radio has been Frank Mankiewicz, the son of the co-scenarist of *Citizen Kane* (1941), Hollywood's most famous portrait of a press lord.

Statistical measurement cannot convey the impact which Jews have exerted upon America journalism. How can the prestige of the New York *Times* be tabulated? In its authoritativeness as the newspaper of record, in its reputation for accuracy and comprehensiveness, the *Times* is in a class by itself. It has a news staff of 550 in New York alone, where its Times Square newsroom covers 1.3 acres. For it to communicate "all the news that's fit to print," six million trees are chopped down annually. The *Times* Sunday edition typically runs more than 400 pages, printed in enough copies to paper over the island of Manhattan twice.[14] But what does it mean for its editors and reporters to realize that their words will be read and pondered in the White House and in the Kremlin, in city hall, and in the libraries and archives of posterity?

Or how does the scholar measure the impact of Walter Lippmann (1889-1974)? He was probably the most admired American journalist of the twentieth century; and one reputable historian considered him "perhaps the most important (American) political thinker of the twentieth century" as well.[15] Because Lippmann's approach to journalism was interpretative, he made little impression on the process of news gathering. But during his prime it was said in Washington that foreign governments formally accredited their ambassadors to the President and by private letter to Lippmann, who seemed to soar above the etiquette of diplomacy when it suited him. His regular pilgrimages to Europe were so meticulously arranged that, in 1961, Nikita Khrushev's request to delay Lippmann's Soviet visit by a few days, due to an unanticipated political crisis, was turned down. The Russian dictator rearranged his *own* plans so that he could meet the American journalist. The resulting interviews earned Lippmann his second Pulitzer Prize. When Lippmann spoke at the National Press Club to celebrate his seventieth birthday, more correspondents were in attendance than had come to hear Khrushchev speak in the same room a little earlier.[16]

Or how is the impact of Herbert Bayard Swope to be assessed? He won the first Pulitzer Prize for reporting (in 1917) and gained fame as the executive editor of the New York *World* in the 1920s (when Lippmann ran its editorial page). Swope coined the term "op ed" page, a feature for which he was primarily responsible. From a Roosevelt campaign speech of 1932, Swope singled out the phrase "new deal," thus designating not only an administration but an era. When it was over, he coined the phrase "cold war"

(which Lippmann gave currency).[17] Swope instituted the newspaper practice of capitalizing the word "negro"; and under his direction, the *World* won a Pulitzer Prize for a series exposing the Ku Klux Klan. Lord Northcliffe of the London *Daily Mail* considered him the finest reporter of his time; and late in the 1920s, when the promising humorist James Thurber sat down in a speakeasy and was told only later than he had been in Swope's company, Thurber feigned astonishment. He had been under the impression that Hebert Bayard Swope was a legend. So famous that he became one of *Time's* first cover subjects, so arrogant that he listed among his favorite books not only the Bible and the *World Almanac* but also any volume containing a reference to himself, so imperious that he could scoop other reporters by dressing exactly like a diplomat and getting a front row seat at the Versailles Peace Conference, he left a written legacy that is surprisingly sparse and delible. But a hells'a'poppin' personality enabled him to become the most formidable newsman of his age[18]

Let one other biographical illustration suggest the elusiveness of measuring the Jewish role in the American media. If Swope lived the myth of American journalism, Ben Hecht (1894-1964) not only shared in it but, more than anyone else, created it. It is from Hecht that Americans learned that newspapermen were corrupt, cynical, wenching, dissolute, coarse, drunken rogues, insensitive to anyone's privacy, oblivious to Victorian codes – and probably having more rambunctious fun than anyone else. Born on the Lower East Side, Hecht began his professional career in Chicago at the age of sixteen. His first assignment, given to him by the publisher of the Chicago *Journal*, was to write obscene verses for a stag party. Over a decade of such proximity to the vulgarities of his profession and the raunchiest features of city life gave Hecht material for *1001 Afternoons in Chicago* (1922) and for later autobiographical novels such as *Gaily, Gaily* (1963) and his spirited memoir, *A Child of the Century* (1954). But Hecht's greatest achievement as a mythmaker was *The Front Page* (1928), in collaboration with Charles MacArthur, which has been revived frequently on the stage and made into three film versions.[19] Newspaper experiences were the capital upon which Hecht drew for writing fiction and films, and his recounting became the standard against which the vicissitudes of the profession came to be measured.

Since such examples could be multiplied, the limitations of space make it impossible (as newsboys used to scream, to "read all about it." It is therefore preferable to elucidate such impact rather that merely illustrate it. How can the efflorescence of such talent be explained?

The *Enclyclopedia Judaica*, which dates the Jewish contribution to European journalism from the beginning of the Emancipation from the ghettos, conjectures that a relatively urban and literate people found itself "in the right place at the right time." Moreover, the encyclopedia asserts, the "gift of adaptability permitted the Jew to act as an intermediary, the link between the event and the reader, as the journalist has often been called." The press offered "brightness and novelty," an outlet for a people that felt little if any devotion to the tradition of pre-modern European society. Also pertinent here are the speculations of sociologist Arthur Ruppin that "city life forces people into intensive interaction, into an exchange of goods and ideas. It demands constant mental alertness . . . . The great mental agility of the

Jews . . . enabled them to have a quick grasp and orientation in all things . . . ."[20]

This theory, whatever its applicability to the rather different historical development of the diaspora communities of Europe and North America, suffers from the disadvantage of blurring or ignoring the distinction between journalists and their employers. With some important exceptions, Jews often achieved prominence on the business side before the expressive side. This distinction was put most cogently by A.J. Liebling, who realized early in his career that he "did not belong to a joyous, improvident professional group including me and (publisher) Roy Howard, but to a section of society including me and any floorwalker at Macy's. This clarified my thinking about publishers, their common interests and motivations."[21] Liebling himself wrote primarily for *The New Yorker*, where publisher Raoul Fleischmann preceded editor William Shawn.

But the persuasiveness of the generalization depends in part on what one makes of Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911), who was certainly among the most inventive and spectacular figures in journalism at the end of the nineteenth century. The format and style of the two newspapers he owned, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the New York *World*, established the rules for layouts, features, and photography that newspapers in this century have largely been content to imitate. In the late nineteenth century, as American antisemitism was approaching its peak, Pulitzer bore the handicap of being considered a Jew without being able to exploit the inner resources of Judaism itself. His father was part-Jewish, his mother was a Catholic, he himself was at least nominally an Episcopalian, and his children were not reared as Jews. In the haunted, afflicted years of his greatest wealth and fame, Pulitzer employed a series of secretaries to read to him the news that his failing eyesight prohibited him from following. Some grandeur can be discerned in his insistence that his secretaries' conversation be literate and sparkling. There is nothing admirable in the advice given to the young men that they not speak to the publisher on the topic of Jews.[22]

Adolph S. Ochs (1858-1935) harbored his own sensitivities on the topic, but his identity as a Jew was not in doubt. He married the daughter of the most innovative of nineteenth century rabbis, Isaac Mayer Wise; and he and his descendants remained members of the flagship Reform synagogue, New York's Temple Emanuel. "Religion is all that I stand for as a Jew," the owner of the New York *Times* announced in 1925. "I know nothing else, no other definition for a Jew except religion." So constrained a classification exhibited a logic of its own. Faith was so private and minor a feature of family life that his descendants and relatives generally were informed that they were Jewish on the eve of their departure for boarding school. Dismissing the conception of Jewish peoplehood, the Sulzberger family through its foundation gave a pittance to Jewish charities: $1,800 to the United Jewish Appeal in 1973, and $900 the year after the Yom Kippur war.[23]

But limiting Jewishness to religious belief did not keep the family that has owned the *Times* from realizing that others might be troubled by Jewsih "clannishness." Much effort was therefore expended to limit the perception of the New York *Times* as a "Jewish" newspaper. If the business side preceded the expressive and editorial side, that was because it was undoubtedly a matter of policy. Under Ochs, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, and Orville Dryfoos,

no Jew rose to the position of managing editor. That barrier was scaled by A.M. Rosenthal, but only after the chief foreign correspondent, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, kept Rosenthal from covering a UN conference in 1948 with the terse rationale that "one Jew in Paris is enough." In 1952, when Daniel Schorr, then a *Times* stringer in the Low Countries, asked for a staff position, C.L. Sulzberger rebuffed him with the broader observation that "we have too may Jews in Europe."[24] It is commonly believed that Theodore Bernstein, the newspaper's authority on usage, the "technical genius" of the bullpen, could have risen to the post of managing editor had he been a Gentile. It is also widely assumed that *Times* policy once disguised the given names of Jews, so that bylines were given to A.M. Rosenthal (instead of Abraham), to A.H. Raskin (instead of Abraham), *et al.* The current associate editor, Jacob Rosenthal, forced the newspaper to break its customary decorousness; the masthead lists him, with incongruous informality, as Jack Rosenthal.[25]

The history of American journalism ought not exclude Jews whose interest was not in deadlines or headlines but merely in the bottom line. Terms like "brightness and novelty" or bridging the gap "between the event and the reader" make little sense in evaluating the career of Samuel I. Newhouse (1895-1979). He took charge of his first newspaper, the Bayonne (New Jersey) *Times*, at the age of seventeen. When he died, he owned thirty-one newspapers, seven magazines, six television stations, five radio stations, twenty cable-TV stations, and a wire service. Only two other newspaper chains were larger; none was more profitable. And profit was all that mattered to Newhouse. No publisher was less interested in the editorial policies, which varied, of the newspapers he owned; the contrast with a Willaim Randolph Hearst could scarcely be greater. Newhouse did not bother to read his own products, preferring the *Times* instead; and his credo was simple: "Only a newspaper which is a sound business operation can be a truly free, independent editorial enterprise."[26] Entrepreneurship unrelated to expressiveness also characterized the careers of Moses Annenberg (1876-1942), the immigrant who founded Triangle Publications (the *Daily Racing Form*, the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, the New York *Morning Telegraph*), and his son Walter, who founded *Seventeen* as well as the magazine with more than seventeen million readers, the second greatest circulation in the United States, *TV Guide*.[27] Dorothy Schiff, the former publisher of the New York *Post*, the granddaughter of the banker and venerable Jewish communal leader Jacob Schiff, undoubtedly spoke for her peers when she confirmed an axiom that "once you reach a certain financial level, people don't think of you as anything but very rich." Unpredictable and frivolous, she ran the *Post* from 1939 until 1976[28]; and like the Newhouses and the Annenbergs, she belongs to the history of American business, not the *Oxford Companion to American Literature*.

Other explanations for the Jewish predilection for journalism also merit scrutiny and criticism. In *Jews and American Politics*, Stephen Isaacs argues that the intellectual and verbal resourcefulness that Jews have cherished historically is rewarded in the mass media.[29] Since the deities and divinities that peoples worship are clues to their culture, it is no surprise that the Jewish God is something of an intellectual, since the rabbis believed that even He studies the Bible. By now Isaacs' explanation smacks of a commonplace – which does not mean that it is false, only that it is familiar. Truisms are often

hard to separate from truths, and this one at least has the virtue of identifying the core of values that may be the matrix of a Jewish occupational proclivity as well as a contrast with other values stressed among non-Jews. Insofar as the Jewish encounter with modernity differs from the experience of others, the explanation may well be connected to alternative beliefs.

But Isaacs' theory is also quite restricted. Almost no publishers or network executives have been intellectuals. The celebrated journalists who grew up ignorant of Jewish religion and its stress upon the Word would make up a long list. Nor does the explanation incorporate those journalists whose success has been visual rather than verbal. The most prestigious award of the National Cartoonists Society, for example, is called the "Rueben," in honor of the first president of the society, Rube Goldberg. The most honored of political cartoonists is the Washington *Post's* Herbert Block ("Herblock"). Al Capp (*né* Caplin) created the Dogpatch of *Li'l Abner*, which was syndicated in 500 newspapers and has entered the mainstream of popular culture. Verbal resourcefulness had nothing to do with the photojournalism of *Life* magazine's Alfred Eisenstaedt and Robet Capa. Probably the most famous shot ever taken by an American photojournalist was Joe Rosenthal's depiction of the flag-raising at Iwo Jima – an icon of heroism and patriotism. The sports reporting of television's Howard Cosell and *Ring* magazine's Nat Fleischer has shown few vestiges of Talmudic learning.

Stephen Isaacs also notes the Jewish representation in a field which, "like all forms of mass education, prizes the non-ethnicity of universalism" and especially the ideal of objectivity. Those opting for journalism as a career might therefore hope to be judged by their merit, not their religious or national origin.[30]

This generalization is partially valid, for the Jews attracted to this profession have usually been quite assimilated or uprooted, eager or anxious to blend into the larger society. The epitome of the "non-ethnicity of universalism" has been Lippmann. In the more than ten million printed words of wisdom and counsel that he imparted in his lifetime, Jews were seldom mentioned. A rare occasion was his analysis of antisemitism, published in the *American Hebrew* in 1922, in which Lippmann blamed bigotry primarily on the vulgarity and ostentatiousness of the *noveaux riches* Jews themselves. He claimed that Jews were oversensitive on the subject of discrimination and urged them to uphold "the classic Greek virtue of moderation." No one was more anxious to suppress whatever bound him to ancestral custom and belief than Lippmann, who agreed that his *alma mater*, Harvard College, was correct in imposing a limit on Jewish admissions. More than fifteen percent of the student body, he suspected, would provoke a *Kulturkampf*; and his own "sympathies are with the non-Jew . . . (whose) personal manners and physical habits are, I believe, distinctly superior to the prevailing manners of the Jew."[31] From 1933, no column by the most influential pundit of his time mentioned the persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich, although two columns in 1938 did suggest that the "surplus" population of Europe should be sent to Africa – the continent which the Zionists had tumultuously rejected four decades earlier as not equivalent to the Holy Land. During the Holocaust, Lippmann wrote nothing about the concentration camps and death factories; afterwards he wrote nothing either. Though he never converted to any other faith, Lippmann's efforts to obscure

his own origins reached ludicrous proportions. For a book of tributes prepared for his seventieth birthday, a boyhood friend who was asked to contribute feared that Lippmann would never speak to him again were the fact of Jewishness mentioned. (It wasn't.) Ronald Steel's excellent biography records the nervousness that one friend experienced in playing Scrabble with Lippmann. She worried that the letters forming the word "Jew" might come up, perhaps upsetting the champion of disinterested reason, the Apollonian savant who insisted in 1915 that a "man must be at peace with the sources of his life. If he is ashamed of them, if he is at war with them, they will haunt him forever. They will rob him of the basis of assurance, will leave him an interloper in the world."[32]

How fiercely such journalists tried to bleach out their origins can finally be shown in the careeer of A.J. Liebling (1904-1963). A crack reporter at the New York *World* under the direction of Swope, Liebling became the inventor of modern criticism of the press and was among the shrewdest monitors of its performance. He bragged that he could "write better than anyone who could write faster, and faster than anyone who could write better." Just as both of Lippmann's wives had been Gentiles, so were all three of Leibling's. Identifying with Irish toughs among whom he was reared, attending Dartmouth when it was perhaps the most religiously restrictive of Ivy League colleges, Liebling became a war correspondent for *The New Yorker* and was more visibly pained by the destruction of France than by the Holocaust. His third wife commented: "Even Hitler didn't make him an intensely self-conscious Jew." Liebling once declined to attend a literary salon on Manhattan's Upper West Side because "sheenies who are meanies will be there." He was an eccentric as well as a witty and facile craftsman who suffered the strangest of deaths, because he was a gourmand who became a glutton. Devouring the foods forbidded to pious Jews, such as lobsters, clams, and oysters, Liebling simply ate himself to death.[33]

Exceptions can of course be found to Isaacs' generalization: A few American journalists did not propel themselves furiously from their Jewish origins for the sake of a neutral or abstract universalism. Although Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851) was a "restorationist" rather than a genuine forerunner of Zionism (before the term had been coined), he was an advocate of Jewish rights as well as a skillful, polemical journalist who helped usher in the form of mass communications associated with the liveliness and sensationalism of the penny press.[34] Ben Hecht, for whom a boat transporting refugees illegally to Palestine was named, was certainly the most fervent Jewish nationalist to emerge from American journalism. He became a leading champion of militant right-wing Zionism, and from that perspective an indignant critic of the tribune of mainstream Palestinian nationalism, David Ben-Gurion. But Hecht's blazing opposition to Nazism and commitment to Jewish rights emerged after his newspaper career was essentially abandoned. Herbert Bayard Swope's support of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, and his fund-raising for the United Jewish Appeal also transpired after he had ceased working for the *World* or any other newspaper. He had nothing to do with the astonishing decision of his brother, Gerard, the former president of General Electric, to bequeath the bulk of his estate (nearly $8 million) to Haifa's engineering school, the Technion, in 1957.[35] A younger example of comfort with Jewish identity has been Martin Peretz, who edited the campus

newspaper at Jewish-sponsored Brandeis University and in 1974 became editor-in-chief of *The New Republic*. Peretz presumably has been responsible for the magazine's considerable shift in interest toward the Middle East, primarily from a Labor Zionist perspective.[36]

If the rarity of such figures tends to corroborate Isaacs' point, an even more striking phenomenon invalidates it, however. If objectivity and universalism supposedly made the profession so appealing, the influx of Jews to journals of opinion and to partisan organs would not be so huge. Neutrality would hardly characterize *The New Republic* prior to Peretz's editorship, from Lippmann and Walter Weyl through Gilbert Harrison, or *The Nation* under its current editor, Victor Navasky. Objectivity would not come immediately to mind in describing *The Progressive* under Morris Rubin, or *Partisan Review* under Philip Rahv and William Phillips, or *The New York Review of Books* under Robert Silvers and Barbara Epstein, or *The Public Interest* under Daniel Bell, Irving Kristol, and Nathan Glazer. Norman Cousins, for three decades the editor-in-chief of the *Saturday Review,* played an influential role in the genesis of the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963. Having already helped found SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), Cousins was asked by President Kennedy to organize a citizens' committee for a nuclear test ban treaty to press for Senatorial ratification. Cousins contributed $400,000 of his own money in that effort, even selling the *Saturday Review* to do so – a triumph of political belief over journalistic professionalism. The Nixon administration's "enemies list," which was provided to the Senate's Watergate investigation committee in 1973, included CBS's Daniel Schorr ("a real media enemy") amd Marvin Kalb; NBC's Sander Vanocur; and columnists Sydney Harris, Joseph Kraft, Max Lerner, and Frank Mankiewicz.[37] The underground press that surfaced in the 1960s made no pretense of reaching toward the ideal of objectivity. A short list of its luminaries would include Paul Krassner (*The Realist*), Marvin Garson (*The Berkeley Barb*), Jeff Shero (*Rat*), Allan Katzman (*East Village Other*), and Jesse Kornbluth and Marshall Bloom of the Liberation News Service. Like the writings of radical journalists, from the dawn of the twentieth century, theirs was a direct extension of their politics and often indistinguishable from it.

Objectivity is certainly not universally prized, and the suspicion has grown that it may be impossible to attain. Jews such as Lippmann and David Lawrence largely invented the syndicated column of opinion and interpretation[38] and today its eminent practitioners include David Broder, Joseph Kraft, and Anthony Lewis. The career of William Safire suggests how misleading it would be to remove the study of journalism from cognate fields. Safire began as a public relations counsellor (once called "press agent"), became a speechwriter for Richard Nixon in particular, then a lexicographer, a novelist, and primarily a columnist – honored with a Pulitzer Prize – for the New York *Times*, all without breaking stride. Another figure who straddled journalism and public relations was the ubiquitous Swope, who discerned no conflict between his responsibilities as editor and his services as a publicity flack for Bernard Baruch.[39]

In every vocation affecting public opinion and taste, Colonel Lindbergh was not the last to imply, Jews have achieved prominence. Edward L. Bernays, a nephew of Sigmund Freud, was one of the two pioneers of public relations. Albert Lasker played a comparably innovative role in advertising.

Paul Lazarsfeld, who came to the United States from Vienna in 1935, was (among other accomplishments) a pivotal figure in marketing research. So was his pupil, Ernest Dichter, who became a lay analyst in Vienna (with an office across the street from Freud) and later pioneered in motivational research (first for CBS).[40] Samuel Lubell, Louis Harris, David Garth, and Daniel Yankelovich have been among the nation's leading pollsters. They have become an obligatory adjunct of politics as well as journalism, yet their vocation does not regard the standard of disinterested objectivity as always relevant to its purposes.

There is another possible explanation for the disproportionate impact that Jews have exerted in the American media. It is advanced tentatively, because it is at best only partly satisfactory; it cannot cover all the cases or withstand all objections. Probably no theory on this subject can. But it enjoys the experience of other countries in the diaspora and applies especially well to the particularities of the American framework. The speculation allows one to acknowledge the historical singularity of the Jewish people without requiring for its theoretical validity the journalists' knowledge of or fidelity to Judaic tradition and values.

This thesis holds that the press has been a key instrument in the recognition that we inhabit one world – not one village or valley or province or nation. Journalism is not only a bridge between reader and event, as the *Encyclopedia Judaica* avers, but between people and people. And a certain dispersed and vulnerable minority might be especially sensitive to the recalcitrant problems posed by human diversity and plurality. Exile made Jews aware that the world is larger than parochial and even national boundaries, and some Jews dared to hope that those borders might be transcended. Positioned as outsiders, they were vouchsafed the knowledge of relatives and other co-religionists abroad, were given at least a glimmering sense that there *was* an abroad, a life elsewhere. Jews were therefore responsive to cosmopolitanism, or trans-nationalism, a tendency to view the world as one.

Such a marginal situation and such an international spirit have commonly been appreciated by scholars explaining the Jewish penchant for trade, even though the Biblical Hebrews were not famous for their business acumen. What drove Jews in antebellum America toward journalism, Professor Sarna has argued, was its hospitality to "the kind of independence and mobility that Jews have often looked for in their occupations . . . . Commerce on a large or small scale," he added, "depends on information. Jewish merchants, travellers, peddlers and, of course, relatives served as 'reporters' long before the public press had any interest in printing the news." But other scholars have not extended or tested Sarna's claim that "Jews had the kind of cosmopolitan outlook which journalism demands."[41] Too little curiosity has been piqued by this explanation of what has attracted Jews so disproportionately to journalism.

Such cosmpolitanism can be easily verified through comparative history. Reuters, perhaps the leading international news agency, was founded by a rabbi's son, Israel Ben Josephat (1816-1899), who began with pigeons, then cable, and then telegraph. Baptized in Berlin, he moved to London in 1851 and eventually became Baron Paul Julius von Reuter.[42] A breezy disregard for national borders also marked the career of Henri Blowitz-Opper (1825-1903), the inventor of the press interview. He was born in Bohemia, wrote for

Parisian newspapers, and became a French citizen; but his widest recognition was achieved as a correspondent for *The Times* of London.[43] The tableau of Joseph Pulitzer's final year – with teams of secretaries reading to him his favorite German and French literary works in their original languages – is a sign of how cosmopolitan a figure this Hungarian immigrant cut in American journalism.

Of course the American case is complicated by the obvious fact that ours has been a nation of immigrants; and a thesis that is scientifically elegant would have to demonstrate that immigrant Jews, or immigrants more generally, were represented in journalism more fully than in the American populace. Such validation cannot be accomplished, and impressionistic evidence will have to do.

It is striking that Adolph Ochs of the New York *Times* and William Paley of CBS were the sons of immigrants. Davd Sarnoff of RCA/NBC was born in Russia. Lippmann had made many trips to Europe as a child and was attuned to advanced European thinkers such as Bergson, Wallas, and Freud. Swope, Hecht, and Liebling were also the sons of immigrants; and Liebling's dying words could not be understood because they were in French.[44] The much admired "Topics of the Times," the closest American equivalent of the *feuilletons* that graced European journalism, was primarily the achievement of Simeon Strunsky, born in Russia. Even today, long after the passing of the era of mass migration of Jews, the editorial page of the *Times* is directed by Max Frankel, born in Germany. Abe Rosenthal was born in Canada to immigrants from Russia. Henry Anatole Grunwald, the chief of all Time Inc. editorial enterprises, was born in Vienna. Such biographical data are suggestive.[45]

There is, however, no philosopher's stone that can transmute the unstable mixture of competing theories into the purity of a single explanation. Even though monocausality lacks credence, a stress upon the cosmopolitan sentiments of Jews would at least rectify scholarly neglect. It would explain in part why isolationists like Henry Ford and Charles Lindbergh placed such weight on Jewish influence in the media, and why such variations on antisemitic themes have been historically associated with heightened nationalism. But what will continue to render this topic enigmatic is the larger question of Jewish identity in modern times. For *at most* only a vestige of religious heritage, only a segment of ethnic identity have ever been implicated in what journalists have done. The task of determining a distinctive Jewish contribution to the press is therefore complicated when Jews have blended so smoothly into the structure of social organization. What they have achieved as individual journalists may betray only the most tenuous link to their sensibility as Jews, but that is why the exploration of their motivations and influence can serve as an index of participation in modern American society. Far from signifying a cabal or a conspiracy, the Jewish representation in the mass media shows the openness of the American environment, the congruence of American values – and the benign challenge that is thereby posed to the singularity and durability of an ancient minority.

NOTES

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[13]Charles E. Silberman, *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* (New York, 1985), 153.

[14]"The Kingdom and the Cabbage," *Time*, 110 (Aug. 15, 1977), 73-74, 80.

[15]Introduction to Clinton Rossiter and James Lare (eds.), *The Essential Lippmann: A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy* (New York, 1965), xi.

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[24]Salisbury, 28-29, 401; Isaacs, 47-48.

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[26]Richard H. Meeker, *Newspaperman: S.I. Newhouse and the Business of News* (New Haven, 1983), 2-3, 23, 158, 165, 166; *Time, 114 (Sept. 10, 1979), 68.*

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[30]*Ibid.*, 45.

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[35]Hecht, *Child of the Century*, 84, 482-586; Fetherling, 119-139; Kahn, 433-439.

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From Fact to Fiction: Journalism and Imaginative Writing in America. *By Shelly Fisher Fishkin.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. 265 pp. Index. Cloth, $24.50.

Although critics frequently have noted the great number of American fiction writers and poets who have roots in journalism, the role of journalism in the development of those writers has, for the most part, been given only cursory investigation with rather predictable conclusions: time spent in journalism was either a necessary apprenticeship forced on the writer by cultural dictates, or it was an unfortunate period that slowed, or even halted, the writer's genuine creative growth. In *From Fact to Fiction*, on the other hand, Shelly Fisher Fishkin demonstrates that the journalistic work of five American writers – Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos – provided the source for subject matter and styles for their finest creative works.

Fishkin, director of the Poynter Fellowship in journalism at Yale University, carefully documents the journalistic work of each writer, discusses the stylistic characteristics and approaches of that journalism, and then shows the strong, direct connection between the journalism and more creative work that followed by closely analyzing the texts of Whitman's poetry and the fiction of the other four. Along the way, the reader sees how Whitman covered a fire for the *New York Aurora*, gets a taste of how Twain parodied travel writing in the *Keokuk (Iowa) Post*, is shown how Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* draws heavily from newspaper accounts of a 1906 murder, comes to understand how the *Kansas City Star*'s emphasis on accuracy and conciseness became part of Hemingway's writing philosophy, and sees the way Dos Passos lifted facts and themes from his magazine articles and gave them new life in his novel *The Big Money*.

However, journalism historians might be bothered by Fishkin's total acceptance of Michael Schudson's version of nineteenth century journalism. Although she refers to a number of additional sources, and uses primary works for her five subjects, Schudson's *Discovering the News* seems to be her principal authority for explaining the journalistic context.

One can also take exception to any number of Fishkin's generalizations that are presented as facts. For instance, she states that Twain "could lay out the bare, unvarnished facts with the best of them," but all the examples she cites demonstrate that the facts Twain used were anything but "unvarnished" but instead reflected a distinctly subjective tone and texture. More bothersome is Fishkin's tendency to claim a uniqueness for her subjects' journalism without providing adequate evidence. Whitman was "breaking new ground" as a journalist, she writes, but she does not sufficiently compare his work to that of other journalists except in the most general manner. Perhaps Whitman was pioneering in both subject and style, but Fishkin's examples are unconvincing. Another time she argues that "unlike most newspaper readers and reporters Dreiser constantly searched for meaning in the chaotic jumble of facts that surrounded him, constantly wondered where it all led, and to

what end." To Fishkin's credit, she does qualify that generalization with that ambiguous word "most." But there were enough journalists wrestling with the same questions – others who searched for ways to capture the significance of that which they witnessed, others who tried to go beyond the facts – that it at least deserves a note. Overall, Fishkin appears unwilling to confront this aspect of literary-journalistic history. That is, instead of considering journalistic style as simply one form of literary expression, a form complex and rich in variety and not easily categorized, Fishkin has chosen to cling to traditional, and rather simplistic, perceptions. This attitude is apparent in the book's title, which suggests a natural movement among literary artists in America from the clearly defined objective world of fact (journalism) to the clearly defined subjective world of the imagination (fiction and poetry). All this is presented as an unchallenged fact. She quotes Twain as saying that beat reporting is a "barrel of soup made out of a single bean," but regardless of the truth of that observation, the journalism Fishkin considers suggests something hardier and spicier than thin bean soup.

This is not to say that Fishkin does not prove her thesis. She does indeed show that after toying with forms, styles, subject matter, and approaches to depicting reality, all five writers achieved their greatest artistic success when they returned to the concrete facts that dominated their journalistic world. In their poetry and fiction, however, they transformed those facts in a way that provided readers with a new way of seeing. What they produced, according to Fishkin, were "texts designed to engage the reader's mind and emotions in ways their journalism never could." The problem is that the journalism she considers seems to be more of a narrative-subjective type. Some of it "engages the reader's mind and emotions" – perhaps not on the level of either poetry or fiction but more so than conventional journalism. Was the journalism of Fishkin's five writers typical? Might there be a body of journalistic work that was conceived with a literary purpose rather than a journalistic one?

One would like to know if Whitman, Twain, Dreiser, and Hemingway shared a subjective-narrative approach to journalism that makes their journalism different from most of the mainstream reporting of their time periods, but also similar to a number of other writers practicing a more subjective journalism. Fishkin did not have to consider a long list of other writers, but some type of acknowledgment of the existence of a very broad third form of writing, somewhere between fiction and journalism, would hve been appropriate and would have provided a fresher overall appraisal of the work she considers. At the same time, such an acknowledgment would have demonstrated that the step from journalism to pure fiction for all five writers was even shorter than she maintains. But perhaps more importantly, it would have placed her study in a broader cultural context. Yes, the creative work of these five important American writers seems to be an extension of their journalism. But so what? What's the significance of this discovery? Although Fishkin refers to Lennard Davis' *Factual Fictions*, she doesn't recognize that her own research supports the contention that Davis' news/novel discourse might be an on-going one and was not confined to the beginnings of printed prose. In the book's epilogue, Fishkin had the opportunity to make connections, to at least consider her finding in relation to other nineteenth and twentiety century writers, but instead she simply notes that the boundaries between fact and fiction have become blurred recently, deplores that trend, and spends far too much time discussing Janet Cooke's "Jimmy" incident at the *Washington Post*.

In the end, those interested in either the journalism or the more creative writing of any of these writers will find Fishkin's study worthwhile. She deserves praise for recognizing the valuable and solid relationship between

journalism and fiction in this country. But her work also shows how confining, and perhaps misleading, traditional literary classifications can be, and points to the great amount of work yet to be done in the area of journalistic style.

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Television's Guardians: The FCC and the Politics of Programming, 1958-1967. *By James L. Baughman.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985. 311 pp. Index. Cloth, $27.50.

Why was the Federal Communications Commission unable to regulate the television industry in a meaningful way in the late 1950s and 1960s? That is the central question which James Baughman addresses in his book.

The thesis usually offered to explain the FCC's failure during this era emphasizes that the FCC was, like other regulatory agencies, a captive of the very industry it tried to regulate. This view was expressed by popular critics of television, including Gilbert Seldes of *The Saturday Review*; and it underlies, for example, Louis Kohlmeier's *The Regulators* (1969) and Barry Cole and Mal Oettinger's *Reluctant Regulators* (1978). Evidence used to support this "common sense" argument includes not only the FCC decisions frequently favoring broadcast industry interests and positions but also examples of FCC commissioners who took industry jobs after their terms with the Commission ended (e.g. Charles Denny, who resigned from the FCC in 1947 to become an NBC vice president), or those who received perquisites from industry officials while serving as commissioners (e.g. John Doerfer's acceptance of vacation hospitality from George Storer, president of the company that operated twelve radio and television licenses. This indiscretion resulted in Doerfer's forced resignation from the Commission in 1960).

In contrast to this dominant view, Baughman's central thesis is that regulatory commissions themselves, including the FCC, are not totally free agents; rather, they depend for their ultimate success on the cooperation of the three formal branches of government, particularly in the case of the FCC, on the cooperation of Congress and the presidency. As Baughman ably demonstrates, from 1958-1967, the FCC had the full cooperation of neither.

In 11 relatively short chapters, Baughman presents evidence for his thesis chronologically, starting with an overview of the history of broadcast regulation from 1912 to 1958. He selected 1958 as the beginning of his more in-depth study because of the growing disenchantment with the regulators in the late 1950s (reflected, for example, in the hearings held in 1957-58 by the House Commerce Committee's Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight), and with television programming itself, as seen in the critiques of influential reviewers like Selder, Marya Mannes of the *Reporter*, and Jack Gould of the New York Times. The creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1967 marks a logical ending for this study in the sense that the need for and the creation of the CPB are viewed here as clear signs of the failure of the FCC to improve commercial television programming.

Most of the book's five central chapters deal with Newton Minow's years as

chair of the Commission, from early 1961 until June 1963. One might argue that this creates an imbalance in the book, that the discussion of the Commission's work throughout the period should be divided more evenly. But Baughman's emphasis on "the Minow years" may be justified particularly because Minow's "vast wasteland" speech before the annual meeting of the National Broadcasters in May 1961 augured a renewed strength for the Commission and heralded efforts to return the small screen to the kind of excellent programming which many perceived had been prevalent in the early 1950s.

Minow's famous critique was widely acclaimed at the time by television critics, viewers and industry workers, many of whom were disenchanted with the industry's efforts to reform programming practices and improve program quality in the wake of the quiz show scandals of the late 1950s. As Baughman demonstrates, however, Minow had to contend with the indifference of a Commission whose membership was still dominated by appointees of the conservative Eisenhower era. Although the commission consisted of an ostensibly democratic four-to-three majority, that majority could not be counted on to vote with Minow because they did not share his ideas about television programming quality or about an active policing role for the FCC. Not until the appointment of E. William Henry as FCC commissioner to replace John Cross, whose term expired on June 30, 1962, did Minow have a working majority on the Commission.

In addition, Congress was, if not actually hostile, at the very least unsympathetic to Minow's efforts to regulate the industry, as demonstrated, for example, in the 1961 battle over the Administrative Procedure Act and in Minow's 1962 effort to tie deintermixture (i.e. assigning either, but not both, VHF or UHF frequencies within a single market) to the all-channel television receiver bill. Although Baughman shows that Congress's resistance to Minow was motivated in large part by its own self-interest (e.g. to protect a cozy relationship with the industry which had growing power to report, or ignore, the activities of congressmen; or to maintain rapport with broadcast executives in the hope of gaining network affiliations for constituents), he might have made more of Congress's [redacted] and others' – legitimate concerns about the potential for undue censorship embedded in Minow's reform proposals. While Baughman mentions such concerns, he does not fully relate them to his main thesis.

As suggested above, Baughman does not argue simplistically that the failure of the FCC to regulate programming in a meaningful way was due soley to its dependency on presidential and Congressional support. Rather, he acknowledges an array of causes, including the "captive" view (viz., that the FCC treated the broadcast industry as its major constituent) and the fact that the commissioners themselves often exhibited a deadening caution as a consequence, in part, of internalizing their own bureaucratic practices. But Baughman's chief aim is to balance earlier emphases by analyzing the broadcast regulatory agency as one part – albeit an important part – of the formal arena in which power politics are played in the United States.

In this sense, Baughman's study fits into a more general body of literature on the regulatory agencies which argues that all such agencies are highly vulnerable in political, policy and program terms because they depend for their very existence on the three main branches of government (former

Chairman of the Securities and Exchage Commission Willia Cary's 1967 book, *Politics and the Regulatory Agencies*, is a good, succinct example of this view). Even critics of the FCC in the 1950s, like administrative law expert Louis Jaffe and chief counsel for the House's Legislative Oversight Committee Bernard Schwartz, alluded to the negative effects of Congressional pressure on the FCC. Baughman's contribution is to take what are simply allusions in many other criticisms of the FCC, put them under a microscope of scholarly attention and marshal substantial evidence to make the case.

The book, which is based on the author's dissertation, is richly documented. In quantity and quality this documentation is a major strength of the book. Nearly forty percent of the text is devoted to notes and bibliography, a testimony to the careful and painstaking scholarship which is the study's hallmark. Baughman demonstrates a thorough acquaintance with a very broad range of sources, from the very popular to the most scholarly. In addition to the secondary material, he has mined more than 100 manuscript collections and conducted personal interviews with key figures, including Minow, Henry, and Kenneth Cos. The result is a densely written work which effectively integrates a broad spectrum of evidence.

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Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion. *By Michael Schudson.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1984. 288 pp., Index. Cloth, $17.95.

Advertising remains an enigma to most scholars. We have tried to dissect it, define it, analyze it, fit it into various models, and put it into some kind of social or cultural context. But the more one reads scholarly publications about advertising the more evident it becomes that few scholars really *understand* it.

There is very little agreement concerning what advertising is and even less concerning what it does and how it does it. Take your choice: Is advertising an art? A religion? A system of symbols? The voice of free enterprise? Subliminal seduction? The evil tool of Vance Packard's "hidden persuaders"? Does advertising "create" demand and force people to buy things that they don't need, as suggested by John Kenneth Galbraith, or is it the informational arm of the capitalist system that historian David Potter describes?

Michael Schudson has entered the fray with his own study and it does indeed shed light on the darkened corners of the monolith called advertising. But, not satisfied with just amplifying our knowledge of advertising, Schudson makes several quantum leaps to conclusions that are often unfounded.

Schudson has much to contribute to the study of advertising in its social and cultural context. The middle chapters of the book discuss the historical and social roots of the consumer culture in the United States and here Schudson is at his best. He debunks the belief that advertising "creates" demand for useless and wasteful products, and defines it instead as a natural and necessary outgrowth of a materialistic/capitalistic cultural system.

One of his most important conclusions is that advertising is not nearly as potent as its critics assume. He correctly points out that other facets of the marketing system such as the product itself, price, distribution, and packaging, are often much more important in the selling of a product than the advertising. If such is the case, then many of advertising's critics lose their arguments. How can the "hidden persuaders" manipulate the consumer if their tool is relatively ineffective in changing opinions? Much of the criticism of advertising has been based upon the belief that it has a tremendous power to influence and corrupt.

Of course, the conclusion that advertising must fit into a well-planned marketing system in order to be effective is nothing new to advertising practitioners. They have known that for decades. The problem is that no one believes them.

Even Michael Schudson ignores most of the evidence that comes from the advertising community. In fact, Schudson's book presents very little evidence from the business of advertising. In his chapter on "What Advertising Agencies Know" Schudson presents some data from *Printer's Ink*, a trade journal and then states the following: "It would be a mistake to draw too much from the foregoing about advertising practice in general. What advertising people say in their trade journals about 'human nature' may have little bearing on their actual work."

In the book's introduction, Schudson does an admirable job of explaining the advertising community's response to the charge that advertising makes people buy things they don't really need. He then blithely dismisses the argument as viable evidence with the following statement: "This argument may at first sound very dubious. Certainly it is self-serving."

If the judge only accepts evidence from one side of the case, will justice be served in the decision?

This less-than-meticulous approach to his subject leads Schudson into several errors of logic. In fact, the title of the book itself is misleading. Schudson laboriously details the inexactness of the process of advertising, the disagreements as to how it works among practitioners themselves, the fact that there seems to be no sure "formula" for the process. Rather that accepting that as the nature of advertising, he concludes that advertising is an "uneasy persuasion."

Nothing could be further from the truth. Advertising is now a $70 billion industry that is as indispensable to most companies as accounting. Even small retailers have to advertise in order to compete. And for large national consumer product marketers, advertising is an absolute necessity. The fast pace of modern marketing requires the speed and efficiency of mass media advertising. The old "word of mouth" is just too slow.

Not only is advertising crucial to the success of free enterprise, it is now being embraced by politicians, associations, consumer groups, and other non-business organizations as the quickest way to disseminate ideas.

The problem with Schudson's book, as in most scholarly work about the mystical business of advertising, is that the writer does not really understand the business. In fact, the writer has trouble understanding "business" at all. Schudson shares the perceptions and prejudices of many scholars. He doesn't basically like advertising and business, and although he tries to be objective, his prejudice keeps sneaking out. The word "advertising" keeps getting tied

up with words like "insidious," "corrupt," "fraudulence," "abhorent" etc. On page 225, Schudson refers to "the profanity of advertising," and in the book's introduction he states that advertising "fully merits its reputation as the emblem of fraudulence."

Cliffort Christians and James Carey, in an article titled "The Logic and Aims of Qualitative Research," describe "naturalistic observation" as one of the criteria by which competent studies may be judged. "Observers, from this perspective, must pitch their tents among the natives, must enter the situation so deeply that they can recreate in imagination and experience the thoughts and sentiments of the observed." (*Research Methods in Mass Communication*, ed. by Stempel and Westley, 1981, p. 347.).

Michael Schudson has not pitched his tent long enough on Madison Avenue. He doesn't understand the natives. He doesn't like them very much. He can't really relate to them.

Schudson's work is a welcome addition to the study of advertising. It confronts many issues head on, and as such should be recommended. His analysis of advertising as part of a consumer culture is refreshing and thought-provoking.

Unfortunately, after a commendable effort and 288 pages of attempting to describe the natives of Madison Avenue, he is still not sure what they are doing. We must be wary, then, of his conclusions.

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The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I. Contributions in Military History, No. 37. *By Alfred E. Cornebise.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

The title of this work and its designation as a volume in the Contributions in Military History series might make this book's value as a work of journalism history doubtful. In fact, *The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I* provides a richly detailed look into the pages of that publication and hence the cultural climate it delineated. Though it falls short in the depth of its analysis of the paper's content, the book does offer useful insights into the sixteen-and-a-half-month-long life of *The Stars and Stripes*.

The book is not so much a history of the publication as it is an attempt, though not always successful, at a cultural exegesis of the paper's content. Its author, Alfred E. Cornebise, notes in his introduction that he approached the paper as "a prism, providing us with useful and fascinating glimpses and insights, often presented in an amusing fashion, into the life of Americans soldiering in Europe..." As such it is a "valuable help in conjuring up the spirit of its age...." (p. xii). Though Cornebise does not succeed in providing a solid critical interpretation of *The Stars and Stripes'* content, he does accomplish that conjuring up of the mood that surrounded the American fighting man in World War I.

The book's strength rests in its use of the content of the paper itself as an indicator of the publication's expression of journalistic, political and cultural values. Throughout, the author supplies copious examples of that content,

giving the reader the flavor of the language, values, concerns and interests that characterized the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I. The paper's content is addressed thematically with chapters detailing the emerging view of religion, the enemy, death, the allied forces and the more mundane topics of Army mess, uniforms, entertainment and sports, among others. In addition, the author provides a useful discussion of the role of advertising in *The Stars and Stripes* and of the nature of that advertising.

Cornebise argues that *The Stars and Stripes* was a newspaper rather than a public relations organ and that its editorial staff members, themselves former journalists, fought to keep it so. As a newspaper, *The Stars and Stripes* depended on circulation and advertising revenues and was subject to a minimum of interference from military and government sources. Still, it was geared toward building and maintaining morale among the fighting men and it operated under the guidance of a Board of Control. Cornebise notes, "...it was stipulated that 'every issue of *The Stars and Stripes* should interpret the spirit of a great Democracy at war for a just cause, in the encouragement of individuality of expression consistent with tolerance and sanity of view.' " (p. 8).

The struggle between the editors and their military superiors over content revolved around the attempt to keep that content "true" journalism. As former journalists, some to become prominent in the field in later years, (Adolph S. Ochs, Jr., Alexander Woollcott, Harold Wallace Ross), the editors fought for an independent stance and an image among their public of *The Stars and Stripes* as a voice of the enlisted man. They had no argument with the general philosophy of the publication as a morale-building paean to the troops. The struggle was thus over who would do the censoring and selecting for the publication, but not over the policies of the paper. Mostly, as Cornebise's sources detail, the editors won this battle.

There was also conflict over advertising, which despite policies that excluded liquor, patent medicine, political ads and others, was plentiful. The editors regularly displeased their advertising agencies by not making space for all the ads obtained for them. The very presence of ads in *The Stars and Stripes* tells something about the definition of a newspaper among those producing the paper. Advertisements were viewed as essential not for their revenue but because "they gave the paper an air of success." (p. 37). The editors saw advertising as essential to the professional appearance of the paper and also as being important items to the readers – American soldiers in Europe. The nature of that advertising is explored in one chapter, providing a valuable cultural study of the impact of the war on advertisements and the impact of an audience of soldiers at war on advertising. Very often advertisers addressed their sales pitch to the doughboy even though he could not obtain the product in France and was unlikely even to need such an item while a soldier. Advertisers openly worked at building a market among the soldiers for the postwar period.

The book is at its best when Cornebise allows *The Stars and Stripes'* content to reveal the meaningful symbols, values, evaluations, concerns, interests, and language of the doughboy and his times. Occasionally, as in the chapter on education, Cornebise unaccountably departs from this approach and presents the paper's contents as truth. The chapter does not detail the paper's portrayal of or evaluation of education in general or government-offered

educational opportunities for the GIs in particular; rather, the chapter uses *The Stars and Stripes* to chronicle the development of educational programs and to affirm the fact that the government valued education for the soon-to-be discharged soldier. Because of this shift in approach, the education chapter is thin in substance and lacking in flavor.

However, liberal offerings of the paper's content are provided in the explication of two particularly interesting types of content: sports and doughboy-produced poetry. Sports, a standard in most newspapers, was at first an assumed necessity in *The Stars and Stripes*. Sports coverage included both professional sporting news and reports on the activities of the men of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) themselves. Cornebise analyzes thoroughly the use of sports as a metaphor for war: "The 'game of war' accordingly should hold no terrors for the average American soldier already trained in sports. That familiar experience of the playing field was a framework for war experiences – the parameters were set, terror circumscribed; fear and uncertainty, and even the horrors of conflict, were thus rendered familiar if not innocuous." (p. 140).

With sports viewed in such a context, it became clear that sports activities too had a patriotic duty. When professional athletes attempted to be exempted from military duty on the grounds that they were part of an "essential" industry, *The Stars and Stripes* editors produced angry editorials ("a trained athlete, particularly one who has had the opportunity to lay away a tidy fortune...owes it to his country to do something in return. ") (p. 141) and eventually eliminated the sports page over the issue. With it went coverage of "local" AEF sports which had become so widespread that thorough and equal amount of attention could no longer be allotted. But, "the sports idiom was not thereby laid aside" (p. 143) and continued to frame discussion of the war.

In addition to the sports metaphor, *The Stars and Stripes* content is marked by a remarkable reliance upon poetry as a vehicle for the expression of views on the war by the AEF men. Cornebise does not do much more than present examples of the poetry and acknowledge that it was persistent and plentiful. The examples disclose that the verses composed usually addressed some aspect of the wartime situation, expressed intense patriotism and strong points of view on what wartime American values ought to be. Frequently humorous or satirical, the poetry sent in to the paper by the fighting men enlarges the cultural portrait that *The Stars and Stripes* contains of its time and its consciousness. Cornebise writes that it is "striking...how readily the doughboy turned to poetry and doggerel as a means of expression....More serious study is needed on this phenomenon " (p. 181). It is unfortunate that he does not attempt to provide some analysis of this.

This is a pervasive flaw in the book. Cornebise does not say enough about the cultural implications of the paper's content but rather seems to assume that the examples will be self-explanatory. It is admirable that he allows the content to speak for itself and allows the reader to experience that content. However, he seems reluctant to offer his own conclusions about the meanings behind that content and the overall picture it produces.

The strongest chapters are those where he overcomes this reluctance, for example when dealing with advertising and sports. At other moments the weakness of analysis is grievous. A case in point is the issue of racism in the

military. The treatment of the black soldier in the pages of *The Stars and Stripes* is handled under the topic of morale and espirit and given only three pages of consideration. It notes in particular that the paper was "guilty of inconsistency" in this area. "On the one hand it praised the blacks; on the other, it lapsed into what were regarded as less than complimentary dialect stories" (p. 115). Letters were printed that objected to the treatment of blacks and hence the issue was to some degree addressed. Cornebise only acknowledges that the discussion existed. He does not bring to this topic the serious consideration that accompanied his discussion of sports and advertising in the paper. It is cetainly a more complicated issue but also one that can offer great insight into the cultural climate to which *The Stars and Stripes* was a significant contributor. Because the author's analysis falters on certain topics, the value of each chapter's conclusions is inconsistent. At times his work is insightful and thorough, at other times shallow and disappointing.

At the outset, Cornebise states that *The Stars and Stripes* may have had an impact on journalism generally. He may be correct. But he offers little evidence or even discussion of the possibility beyond an interesting chronicle of the postwar journalistic careers of the editors. Indeed, a study of *The Stars and Stripes* which maintains it was a form of true journalism ought to offer some context against which to consider the paper. How was *The Stars and Stripes* like or unlike journalism of its day? How was it influenced by or how did it influence journalism generally? It is in this sense that the author tends more toward producing military history than journalism history. He chronicles the changes in dress, language and food in the military; he uses the paper as evidence of military values, interests and conflicts. But on the subject of journalism he too often assumes the excerpts from the paper will speak for themselves and thus provides little if any context for understanding them or analysis based on his own knowledge of that context.

The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I is therefore a useful, detailed look at the contents of that paper with moments of valuable insight into the larger meaning of that content. It is those moments that make the gaps in his analysis all the more disappointing. Despite that criticism, the book is an enjoyable excursion into the pages of *The Stars and Stripes* and that alone is a worthwhile contribution to journalism history.

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Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam. *By J. Fred MacDonald.* New York, N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1985. 227 pp. Index. Cloth, $31.95.

J. Fred MacDonald, professor of history at Northeastern Illinois University and noted for his work on the social and cultural history of the mass media says his book argues "that years of misrepresentation on television actually led the American public toward that battle (Vietnam conflict)."

While other publications have concerned themselves with the role of the media, particularly television, in covering the Vietnam conflict, the author says that television from about 1940 "fed the nation a powerful menu of

propagandized, persuasive programming" that had the good "us" always defeating the bad "them."

Moreover, during the period between 1940 until the involvement in Vietnam some twenty years later, TV shows "heightened militaristic values and lavished praise on the American military establishment."

Therefore, says the author, when Kennedy escalated the American military involvement in Southeast Asia to a guerrilla war against communism and Johnson increased the number of troops to over a half million, the majority of Americans asked few questions.

Using mainly the trade publications of *Broadcasting, Variety,* and *TV Guide,* MacDonald backs up his claim by giving detailed tables of shows and their content, ratings, etc., to demonstrate what the American public was fed during the Cold War period of the 1950s.

He even provides a content analysis of the news to show the heavy anti-communism flavor in the coverage of the stories. Particularly interesting was the analysis of the July 28, 1954, "Camel News Caravan" in which almost every story or segment dealt with communism or the Cold War.

Finally, he makes the transition from the "Cold War to Hot War" by showing TV's role in the greater involvement in Vietnam. Noting that through the years, TV had worked with the government in promoting national causes, particularly national security, he shows how the TV networks were eager to assist in U.S. propaganda efforts overseas. "By late 1961, according to *Broadcasting,* the USIA was receiving the greatest possible cooperation from commercial TV interests."

The TV networks also were used by Kennedy and Johnson to promote the government's actions. Johnson made 59 live appearances in his first 22 months in office.

Finally, however, it was TV that helped bring about the public's disenchantment with the Vietnam conflict when it belatedly began to question the government's figures and policies.

MacDonald concludes: "Television shaped and directed a generation of Americans to accept something as absurd as an inadequately explained, undeclared war halfway around the globe, costing billions of dollars each year, losing thousands of young lives monthly, and ultimately wrenching the moral fiber of American civilization."

This well-documented work would be excellent as an additional text for a history of broadcasting course or as a required or suggested reading for an introduction to journalism and radio-TV class, a media criticism course, or a press and politics course.

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FROM THE EDITOR

This issue of *American Journalism* contains the historical works deemed the four best submitted to the 1985 paper competition of the American Journalism Historians Association. It inaugurates the annual practice of devoting one issue to the outstanding research presented to the annual AJHA convention. The AJHA sponsors publication of *American Journalism*.

After these four papers had been selected through blind judging, a special board of editors for *American Journalism* examined them. Authors used the editors' comments and suggestions, along with those of the original paper judges, in writing revised, final versions for publication.

Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869-1914

By Sherilyn Cox Bennion

Many explanations have been advanced for the early successes of woman suffrage in the Western United States. It has been suggested that a society less rigid and conventional than that of the East was more willing to try social experiments and that the frontier spirit promoted a sense of equality as women and men worked together to build a new civilization. Another theory is that political expediency was the major factor in women's achieving the vote. In some cases the motive may have been boosterism; suffrage might make an area known and bring settlers. Perhaps men were more chivalrous in the West or women highly valued because of their scarcity. Men may have wanted to reward women for their strenuous efforts during the pioneer period.

While historians have examined and debated these assumptions and have looked at the progress of woman suffrage both in individual states and in the West as a whole,[1] little attention has been paid to the publications that the suffragists founded, in which their ideas and goals were discussed. Much more has been written about the suffrage periodicals of the East, and most discussions of suffrage ideas are based on Eastern sources.

This study identifies twelve suffrage papers of the West. Copies have been found of eight of them. There is little doubt that still others exist.[2] The twelve identified were published from 1869, the year Wyoming gave women the vote, to 1914.[3] By the end of that year all but one of the Western states had adopted suffrage.[4] The papers were founded because the suffragists, denied access to the conventional press, resorted to establishing their own. They hoped to give the movement a voice, to expand its influence, and to win converts for the cause.

The presence of alternative voices in the press of the United States is a venerable tradition, and women's rights periodicals are readily identifiable as part of that tradition. Certainly, the suffrage papers shared the traits one writer listed as characteristic of the dissident press: They were underdogs, at least until well into the twentieth century; they held views that diverged from the mainstream; they wanted to effect social change; they were excluded from the traditional media marketplace, but their ideas gradually filtered into it.[5]

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What were these publications like? Who edited them? Where and when did they appear? What did they have to say? This article provides some answers to such questions by looking first at the publications and then at the ideas they espoused.

The Publications

The West had no suffrage papers until after the Civil War, although feminist publications had begun appearing in the East as early as 1849. The most prominent Eastern papers, *The Revolution* and *The Woman's Journal*, began in 1868 and 1870, close to the founding date of the West's first suffrage paper, which got its start in 1869, when Emily A. Pitts, a 25-year-old school teacher who had moved to San Francisco from New York four years earlier, bought a half interest in the *Sunday Mercury*. She transformed it into a suffrage paper, taking full control and renaming it *The Pioneer* later that year. Her "Salutatory" established the tone for *The Pioneer* and for the suffrage periodicals that followed it:

> We defend the rights of women fearlessly and to the best of our ability. We shall insist upon woman's independence – her elevation, socially and politically, to the platform now solely occupied by man. We shall claim for her each privilege now given to every male citizen of the United States. In short, we shall claim for her the right of suffrage – believing that by this she will gain the position for which God intended her – equality with man.[6]

The Pioneer survived as a woman suffrage paper until September 1873. By that time Pitts had married, and she called herself Mrs. Pitts-Stevens. She also had helped to organize local and state suffrage societies and founded the Woman Suffrage Party of the Pacific Coast.

During 1871 Abigail Scott Duniway, a pioneer suffrage leader from Oregon, visited Pitts-Stevens. Duniway became Oregon editor of *The Pioneer* and served in that position for several months before founding Oregon's first suffrage paper, *The New Northwest*, in Portland. She later wrote:

> Before returning to Oregon I resolved to purchase an outfit and begin the publication of a newspaper myself, as I felt that the time had come for vigorous work in my own State, and we had no journal in which the demands of women for added rights were treated with respectful consideration.[7]

Duniway's paper lasted 16 years.

Neither of these two weeklies devoted itself exclusively to suffrage. Both contained general news, essays, advice, editorials, fiction, poetry, and advertising; but their main purpose remained to promote the suffrage cause.

Every number carried reports from suffrage organizations and encouragement for supporters.

Abigail Scott Duniway also started Oregon's second woman suffrage paper. After she sold *The New Northwest* in 1887, she moved with her family to Southern Idaho, but in 1891 she reentered the fray in Portland with a short-lived publication called *The Coming Century*. She became the editor of Frances Gottshall's *The Pacific Empire* in the fall of 1895 and made it a near duplicate of *The New Northwest* until she retired from journalism in 1897.

The subtitles of these papers suggested their orientation. *The Pioneer* used "Devoted to the Promotion of Human Rights" and under that, "Liberty, Justice, Fraternity." Pitts-Stevens explained that she used "fraternity" only because "the paucity of our language . . . has no word to express brotherhood and sisterhood of the race."[8] The subtitle of *The New Northwest* was "Free Speech, Free Press, Free People." For *The Pacific Empire* Duniway chose "A Journal of Freedom."

Colorado's first suffrage paper claimed on its masthead to be "The only paper in the State advocating Woman's Political Equality and Individuality." Caroline Churchill used the title of *Queen Bee* for her paper and herself. She had founded a monthly, *The Colorado Antelope*, in 1879, but three years later she made it a weekly and changed its name. It remained *Queen Bee* until it ceased publication shortly before her death in 1926.

"Individuality" went beyond the masthead of the paper to its content. Churchill expressed her sometimes eccentric opinions in colorful prose. She urged women to go to the polls in force, whether they could vote or not. In addition to suffrage, she crusaded for garbage removal, temperance, and improvement of the postal system. She opposed dance halls, tobacco, Catholics, and Mormons. In her autobiography, written in the third person, she described the difficulty of founding a paper on the frontier and added, "Mrs. Churchill has performed a wonderful work under most difficult circumstances. It is not at all likely that another woman on the continent could under the same conditions accomplish as much."[9]

The first suffrage paper in Washington was *The Alki*,[10] published twice a month in Puyallup in 1895 and edited by Ida Le Fevre. The number for April 15, 1895, demonstrates the existence of a woman suffrage network functioning among the Western publications and often reaching out to include the Eastern ones as well. On its first page appeared a poem by Abigail Scott Duniway and a report of a reception given for her. The poem, a tribute to Lucy Stone titled "Make the World Better," concluded:

> Let us up and to duty! Let us do our work well;
> And wherever the story of freedom we tell,
> We will make the world better, as Lucy Stone said,
> Who made the world better, then smiled and was dead.

Following pages featured a report of a woman's election to the Oakland, California, board of education; favorable comments by influential men from the Western states where women already had the vote; and reprints from the

Seattle Press Times of articles describing the organization of an anti-suffrage society in Chicago, with replies from Washington state suffragists.

The editors of these publications not only read and clipped one another's papers, they met and conferred as they traveled to lecture at public meetings and to recruit supporters. The Eastern suffragists also made many trips through the West, and their publications contributed content for the Western periodicals.

Next in time after *The Alki* came a monthly paper in Nevada. Frances A. Williamson and her daughter, Mary L. Willamson, published *The Nevada Citizen*, "A Journal Devoted to the Best Interests of Our Commonwealth," with the motto, "As in union there is strength, so in action there is progress," in Reno during 1897 and 1898. Frances had spearheaded organization of the Nevada State Equal Suffrage Association in 1895, served as its first president, and used her paper, published at her own expense, as its official organ.

Another official paper of a suffrage association may have been the first of the twentieth century, but not even its name has survived. *The History of Woman Suffrage* reports that Lida P. Robinson, president of the Arizona suffrage organization from 1902 to 1905, continued suffrage propaganda after the governor vetoed a suffrage bill in 1903 "through a little paper which she published and distributed herself throughout the Territory. This well-edited paper kept alive the favorable sentiment and through it the leading men and women suffragists in Arizona were in touch with each other." When Robinson left Arizona in 1905, both the paper and the association languished.[11]

By that time Oregon suffragists had embarked on another campaign to persuade male voters to admit women to their ranks. The movement's newspaper voice was Clara Bewick Colby's *The Woman's Tribune*. Colby started the paper in Nebraska in 1883, moved it to Washington, D.C. at the time of the International Council on Women in 1888, kept it there until 1904, and then changed her base of operations to Portland. At about the same time the officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, displeased with Duniway, decided to take an active part in the Oregon suffrage effort. A fortnightly, the *Tribune* was not the sort of local or regional paper that its Western predecessors had been. Although Colby included news of suffrage events in Portland and the Northwest, she emphasized the national organization and state developments in the East and Midwest. Oregon voters defeated a suffrage amendment in 1906, but Colby kept the *Tribune* going until 1909.

Next, after several years of inactivity, California suffragists started a new push for suffrage. Katharine Reed Balentine, daughter of a congressman from Maine, founded in 1906 another official organ of a state organization, *The Yellow Ribbon*. She intended it to be the organ of the state and auxiliary societies in California, and in Washington and Oregon, too, if they cared to cooperate. Washington did, leading to the monthly's subtitle, "Official Organ of the Washington and California Equal Suffrage Associations."

In July 1907 the paper changed its name, its editor, and, briefly, its frequency of publication. Laura Bride Powers, the new editor, called it *Western Woman*, "Weekly Advocate of Political Equality and Allied Interests," and adopted a much lighter, breezier writing style. She also ex-

panded its content, with a lineup that included "Equal Suffrage News, Civics – Local Politics, Clubs and Club Women, Art and the Artists, Worthwhile Books, Foyer and Footlights, Good Roads – Motoring, Happenings." Her paper lasted until 1908.

Votes for Women was a Washington state paper issued for a year before and a year after Washington voters approved suffrage for women in 1910. Mrs. M.T.B. Hanna, its editor, changed the name of her monthly to *The New Citizen* after the election.[12] No copies have been found. One of her assistants, Adella M. Parker, published her own monthly, *The Western Woman Voter*, from 1911 to 1913. Designed "to be a journal of information for the women voters of the West," it discussed questions of government and of the legal rights for women and the home.[13]

At least one other paper attempted to assist women in exercising their franchise after they had obtained the vote. A man, Rees H. Davis, published *The Idaho Woman* in 1897 and perhaps into 1898 in Caldwell, Idaho. "A journal devoted to the best interests of the Mothers, Wives and Daughters of Idaho," it included instruction and advice in the form of articles with titles such as "Simple Lessons in Civil Government," "Reforms and Reformers," and "Morality and Competency."[14] The article on "Morality and Competency" told readers that "Women can in no way more promptly and beneficially exert their political power than by a concerted effort and continued determination to withhold their support from improper candidates to office."[15]

The Nevada suffragists entered another period of activity in 1911, reviving their state suffrage organization. They obtained approval of a suffrage amendment by two consecutive legislatures as required, and the amendment went to voters in 1914. During the campaign they published the *Weekly Bulletin of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society*. A one-page collection of brief news articles, it may have been intended more for the press than for society members.

Publications of state organizations set the norms, but at least one county society had a paper of its own. A copy of the Ely, Nevada, *White Pine Suffragist* survives, although it is unclear whether the *Suffragist* functioned as a continuing publication or as a short-term pre-election effort to arouse enthusiasm for the state's suffrage amendment. It may have been a project similar to that of a group of Montana newspaperwomen who cooperated to issue a daily suffrage paper during the Montana State Fair in 1912.[16]

Suffrage supporters also distributed columns to daily and weekly newspapers. Particularly after 1900, when campaigns became more professionally organized and more generously financed, these columns circulated widely. In California, 201 newspapers used columns sent out during 1907. The Los Angeles suffrage organization reported that more than 10,000 columns printed there during the final campaign helped promote approval of suffrage in 1911.[17]

Many papers in addition to those devoted primarily to achieving woman suffrage included suffrage among their goals. An early one was the *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, a monthly founded by Carrie F. Young in 1870 after she settled in San Francisco. She had moved her family by wagon from Idaho,

seeking, in her own words, "apples, and grapes, and sunshine" and a chance "for papa to get well and strong."[18] She crusaded for temperance, health, and suffrage, with temperance and health receiving increasing emphasis as time went on, especially after Young changed the name of the publication to *Pacific Journal of Health* and opened with her husband the Nicasio Water-Cure in Marin County. The paper lasted until the fall of 1872.

A periodical published for 42 years by Mormon women in Utah also gave strong support to suffrage. Louisa Greene Richards founded the *Woman's Exponent* in 1872, but Emmeline B. Wells, a prominent leader among Mormon women, edited it during most of its existence. Their territorial legislature had given Utah women the vote in 1870, but between 1882, when the federal Edmunds Bill denied wives of polygamous men the vote,[19] and 1896, when statehood restored it, Mormon women fought to regain suffrage. They saw it as a religious, as well as political, cause.

Religion played only a minor role in the *Women's Herald of Industry and Social Science Cooperator*, published monthly in San Francisco from 1881 to 1884. It was the organ of The California Woman's Social Science Association, whose members aimed "to worship the *true* God." Other goals ranged from learning how to live pure and healthful lives to determining how to progress without robbing the brain or purse of another. Among "Seven Reasons for Publishing the *Herald*," equal rights for women took a place alongside birth control and prevention of crime.[20]

Marietta L. Stow, another California immigrant, spearheaded both the paper and the association. Upon her arrival in 1866 she had become embroiled in a series of legal actions and had concluded that laws discriminated against women. President of the state suffrage association for three months in 1869, she established in 1881 a woman's church and a woman's political party. A year later she ran for governor, and pledged to "give woman the ballot, retire the Chinese, make honesty profitable, season law with justice, put a snaffle bit in the mouth of monopoly, stamp prohibition upon the escutcheon of state and abolish probate courts."[21] In 1884 she announced that she would campaign for the ticket of the National Equal Rights Party, with Belva Lockwood running for president and herself for vice president, until the 1888 elections. That task took her away from journalism.

Thus, from the earliest years of the Western campaigns for woman suffrage, publications of many kinds joined the crusade. The early ones, particularly, were highly individualistic. Even though they printed news of national suffrage leaders and organizations, they concentrated on the local scene, and they reflected the stamp of strong editors.

Rarely did the editors have independent incomes, so their papers battled for survival, as well as for suffrage. Subscribers, mostly middle-class women like themselves, had no funds to make donations beyond the price of a subscription, and editors had trouble collecting even subscription bills. They also found subscribers hard to come by, with low circulation revenues insufficient in most cases to support the papers. Most used advertisements, but the small readership and unpopular point of view made the papers unappealing to most advertisers.

Although the editors intended to spread the gospel of suffrage to the un-

believers, the papers probably attracted principally readers already converted to the cause. This is not to say that the papers had little influence, for they kept readers informed of national and local developments, provided them with arguments for suffrage and answers to those who argued against it, encouraged them to persevere, and maintained links with others of like mind.

The Ideas

An examination of the Western suffrage papers demonstrates that the suffrage movement had no official ideology. A writer who looked at the statements and publications of Eastern suffragists suggested that they developed a standardized repertory of arguments primarily in response to the arguments of their opponents, the so-called "anti's."[22] The Westerners, however, seemed usually to start with the basic premise that justice would be served by the extension of the vote – a natural right – to women. Certainly this contention, frequently and passionately asserted, underlay the arguments made in the Western papers.

To illustrate, in *New Northeast* editorials with suffrage as their theme, justice and natural rights ideals were mentioned 123 times in a total of 207 mentions of ideas. A closely related idea referred to by Editor Duniway was that lack of the franchise subverted equalitarian principles. It received thirty-seven mentions.[23] Unfortunately, not enough numbers of other Western papers have survived to make such numerical analysis meaningful for the group as a whole, but a reading of the available papers suggests the prevalence of Duniway's emphasis.

One way of looking at the ideas is to divide them into categories suggested by a historian who used California as a model. He developed a scheme referring to "social feminists," who argued that enfranchised women would humanize society, protect the home and family through social legislation, and purify politics; "personal feminists," who focused on women's quest for dignity and independence; and "natural rights feminists," who emphasized equality and condemned taxation without representation.

The editors of the Western suffrage papers and their ideas fit into these categories, but in actuality the editors showed little interest in developing logical frameworks or philosophical underpinnings for their beliefs. Their aim was to gather and present all possible justifications for suffrage. They bolstered their views and answered their opponents with every idea at their disposal. Inconsistency might result, as when one article stressed natural rights arguments and another lamented the fact that inferior men of other races had the vote when superior white women did not, but it did not seem to trouble the editors.

As campaigns became better organized and more carefully planned, supporters made a conscious effort to address certain kinds of messages to certain audiences. Milicent Shinn, editor of a San Francisco literary monthly, wrote a leaflet "To the Farmers and Fruit Growers of California" that warned against likely contamination of the countryside by urban problems if women were prevented from cleaning up the political system, as well as the cities.[25]

Emphases changed over time, but variations of the themes elaborated and stressed in the twentieth-century suffrage papers had been around since Stevens and Duniway first took up journalism. A look at the papers shows how they presented and combined a wide variety of ideas.

An article in the West's first suffrage paper reported organization of the California Woman's State Suffrage Association and added a statement of belief by Emily Pitts-Stevens that used themes reflecting social feminism, personal feminism, and natural rights:

> We believe that those who still refuse to recognise the civil rights of woman strike at the foundation of equitable government, . . . for women are taxed but not represented; authorized to hold property, but not to control it; permitted to form political opinions, but not allowed to use them. We believe that the feminine element is necessary to complete the harmony of life in government as in other departments. If our government is a protector and educator, then does it need the peculiar characteristics of woman . . . Not the interests of woman alone, but the interests of all humanity are involved in this great question of Suffrage.[26]

The last of the suffrage papers, the Nevada publications of 1914, used the same variety of ideas. For example, the little *White Pine Suffragist* headlined articles, "Give Nevada Women a Square Deal," "War Prices Cut by Woman's Vote," "Means Freedom for Men," "Ten Years of Suffrage in Colorado" (reporting good results) and "The Wage-Earning Woman and the Ballot" (stressing the positive effects of suffrage for working women).

In fact, hardly an article or editorial mentioned only one idea. "The New Woman," an essay in the earlier *Nevada Citizen*, assured men that women did not seek "annihilation" from any of their "time-sanctioned spheres"; this "would be unwomanly, because unnatural." Women asked only that "the voice of the whole, not one-half of all citizens, speak through the ballot," which would build up "loftier and purer ideals of patriotism." Women had been referred to often as "the reserve force of the human family, but where is the economy of supporting a reserve force if it is never to be called into action."[27]

The "reserve force" might even resort to using flattery as a weapon on occasion. *The Woman's Tribune* quoted from Ida Husted Harper's speech before the 1905 convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Portland. "Eastward the star of empire takes its way," she said, adding that the sun of political freedom rose not in the East but in the West. "It is to the strong, courageous and progressive men of the Western States that the women of this whole country are looking for deliverance from the bondage of disfranchisement."[28]

The strong man complemented the womanly woman. The anti's made the argument that voting would make women unfeminine and lure them from their natural sphere, and the *Citizen's* assurance refuted that idea. Other editors answered more directly. Abigail Scott Duniway, a hard working

frontier farmer's wife before she became an editor, approved of "modesty, purity and other womanly attributes" and insisted that involvement in politics would not "taint" women.[29]

Editor Laura Bride Powers echoed the same theme thirty years later when she spoke out against the unfeminine woman:

> While we have determined to eschew the tameness of Griselda, who was the concentrated essence of all the qualities that go to make a consummate "ejit," we at the same time hold no allegiance to that distressful anomaly, the mannish woman – she who preferably wears short hair, derby hat, sack coat, shirt and cravat, and who has a walk and manners to match.[30]

No editor went so far as to suggest that women should become less feminine, although the papers sometimes defined "feminine" in a way to which their opponents might object.

The anti's often used the Bible to support their contention that woman had a sphere separate and distinct from man's and should stay in her place. Pitts-Stevens answered by pointing out that fifty scriptural passages approved of praying and prophesying by women, while only two did not. She also held that the admonitions of Paul in the New Testament must be interpreted in the context of the times when they were given.[31]

Still, Pitts-Stevens was an ardent champion of the feminine woman. She agreed with an 1872 suffrage convention speaker that "there is nothing so beautiful as home life,"[32] even while she objected forcefully to limiting women's activities to the home and printed an article mantaining that only "superior brute strength" had kept them there, educated to be slaves, with a master who said:

> "And above all, REMEMBER, O! enslaved connubial echo of ourselves, to keep in that straight, narrow, barren, never turning lane, by our brute strength fenced in for you; by our superior wisdom for you at the entrance in gigantic capitals lettered, WOMAN'S TRUE SPHERE! at sides, lettered, WOMAN'S TRUE SPHERE!! at the top, lettered, WOMAN'S TRUE SPHERE!!! at the bottom, lettered WOMAN'S TRUE SPHERE!!!! and at the gloomy end dropping off into a gloomy grave, filled with smothered hopes, aspirations and longings for a life involving something beyond child-bearing and house-keeping . . . [33]

According to this viewpoint, woman could most effectively influence society for good when she escaped her traditional sphere. A writer in *The Alki* pointed out that "the time which the philanthropic woman spends in a round of charitable work had better be spent in helping to remove the causes which have made charitable institutions necessary."[34] More specifically, voting women would take the first steps toward doing away with prostitution, because self-respect and access to employment opportunities would follow the

acquisition of political power. They would improve the atmosphere not only of polling places but of politics generally. They would take leadership in passing laws that would make homes and cities safer and cleaner.

Another reform often linked to woman suffrage was temperance. Some Western suffragists, notably Duniway, insisted that the two should not be joined, that such cooperation invited the well-financed liquor interests to enlist in the ranks of the anti's. She advocated temperance through education and supported *The Pacific Empire*'s temperance orientation. The well-organized campaigns of the twentieth century usually sought to recruit prohibition sympathizers and to utilize the organizational network of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Experience in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho soon demonstrated that miraculous results did not follow automatically after women began to vote. However, suffrage supporters found positive outcomes of women's voting in those states and pointed them out in their papers. They also found public officials to testify that promised reforms already had begun or could be expected to begin soon.

The argument that women would civilize the barbarous world of politics answered the fear expressed by the anti's that participation would degrade women, that the crowded rough polling places where voting took place would contaminate them. *The Yellow Ribbon* printed a response from Southern California pointing out that the polls could hardly be worse than Los Angeles streetcars during rush hour, and women fended for themselves there.[35]

Another *Yellow Ribbon* article stressed "The Housekeeper's Need of the Ballot," combining social feminism with the inference that the vote would not remove women from the home. The author made two main points, that the country needed women to do some public housekeeping and that private housekeeping could not be divorced from public issues which could be influenced by voters. These included food and water supplies, conditions of shelter in cities where more and more families lived, and disposal of garbage and sewage. Even the sweatshops might impinge on home life, if clothes manufactured in unsanitary conditions spread disease.[36]

The arguments for the vote as a means to economic justice emphasized personal feminism. Duniway particularly insisted that enfranchisement would cure the economic inequities between the sexes. She complained about the low wages paid women who had to work and stated that only political equality could ensure the equality of wages.[37] Such ills as women's exclusion from the professions and from high-paying jobs in general, their economic subordination in marriage, and their lack of opportunity for higher education could be alleviated by giving them the ballot.[38]

Still, the natural rights arguments remained the firm foundation for all the others. A rhyme that also ridiculed the specter of the abandoned home offered a variation of it:

The Same One

When woman goes to cast her vote –
Some miles away, it may be –
"Who then," is asked, "will stay at home

To rock and tend the baby?
Since the matter seems to turn
On this as on its axis
Just get the one who rocked it when
She went to pay her taxes.[39]

Editors repeatedly invoked the ideals of the patriots of the country's revolutionary period to support the insistence that simple justice required that women vote. Phrases such as "government without consent of the governed" and "taxation without representation" appeared again and again.

Another complaint objected to the classification of women with "aliens, idiots, the insane and criminals."[40] Particularly after the turn of the century as suffrage gained support in the South, such sentiments took on increasingly racist overtones. Editors reminded readers that more white women than black men and women combined lived in the South[41] and also pointed out that giving women the vote would make the immigrant vote less significant.

If editors noticed the conflict between the idea of voting as a natural right and the implication that not everyone could be trusted with it, they did not call it to their readers' attention. The subtitles of the papers, noted earlier, are evidence that they continued to rely on the assumption that "justice for all" applied to women, as well as to men. Equality, wrote the vice president of the Equal Suffrage Club of Puyallup, Washington, "is the great plan upon which our nation is founded."[42]

Conclusion

The editors of the Western woman suffrage papers came to journalism not as a professional goal but as a means to the end of winning the vote for women. The early papers, especially, spoke for a dissident point of view. Only when capitulation of the last holdout states neared could the publications claim to speak for a majority of Westerners. As dissidents the editors faced ridicule and harassment, of themselves and of their papers. Perhaps their greatest problem, however, was obtaining the means to keep their papers going.

Despite this difficulty, the editors persevered. While papers generally had short lives, suffragists maintained their faith in the power of the press, and major campaigns brought new publications, as well as increasingly extensive publicity of other types.

While it is impossible to demonstrate conclusively the total impact of the papers, one can conclude with some degree of confidence that they played two major kinds of roles and assess possible areas of influence. The main goal of the papers was to win support for suffrage from the uncommitted or opposed. Because readers generally came from the ranks of those already converted, it is unlikely that the papers achieved notable success in this aim. Even the educational purpose of providing exposure to ideas and issues that the popular press overlooked or distorted probably did not function among the unconverted.

Still, the fact that the movement could support publications at all must have lent it some substantiality in the eyes of the general public, and over time the public caught up with the suffragists, as their ideas penetrated mainstream thinking. Suffrage came to California only after supporters realized that women themselves must want it in order for it to win acceptance and proceeded to direct their actions toward that goal.[43] Suffrage campaigns succeeded when they became mass movements among middle class women. By adding the force of the printed word to the speeches and conversations of the suffragists and by providing ammunition for their proselytizing efforts, the papers promoted growth of middle-class support.

They also articulated and refined the ideas that became the bulwarks of the suffrage cause. The most basic of these, relying on the characterization of suffrage as a natural right whose extension to women simple justice required, remained a mainstay in all of the publications. The editors added to the natural rights appeals, according to their own preferences and the temper of the times, arguments that emphasized the need for dignity and independence or the benefits that enfranchised women would bring to society.

Perhaps most important, in terms both of ideas and action, the papers enabled suffragists to solidify a base from which to extend their efforts. A paper lent prestige to the cause in the eyes of subscribers and the general public. It boosted morale and offered information and support. It urged action and suggested exactly what the action might be. It provided a means of communication among suffragists at local, state, and national levels and helped keep the organizational networks functioning. It gave the establishment press something to react to, and even a negative reaction at least kept the issue alive.

The papers led the way in the campaigns for suffrage wherever they were published. They helped develop ideas and organizations. They provided a forum for a cause which had time – and justice – on its side.

NOTES

[1]The standard histories of the suffrage movement, such as *History of Woman Suffrage*, edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper (1881-1922; New York: Arno and *The New York Times*, 1969), and Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), concentrate on the national organizations and their work in the East. T.A. Larson has written about suffrage in the West in such publications as *Utah Historical Quarterly*, *Yesterday*, and *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*. Covering Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho is a Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Utah in 1976 by Beverly Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in the American West, 1869-1896." A master's thesis by Billie Barnes Jensen, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Colorado," was completed for the University of Colorado in 1959. A chapter in Sandra L. Myres' *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience* discusses suffrage. Articles about suffrage in the individual states appear from time to time in Western historical journals. Two which consider ideas and publications are Lauren Kessler's "A Siege of the Citadels," continued with "The Ideas of Woman Suffrage and the Mainstream Press," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, LXXXIV (Summer and Fall, 1983), pp. 117-49 and 257-75, and Ronald Schaffer's "The Problem of Consciousness in the Woman Suffrage Movement: A California Perspective," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLV (1976), pp. 469-93.

[2]Directory listings, for instance, referring to titles such as *Equal Rights Champion* are suggestive, but when no affiliation is listed in a directory entry and no copies are extant, they cannot be included with certainty.

[3]Following are locations of files of the suffrage publications discussed chronologically in this paper, most being incomplete: *The Pioneer*, microfilm at UC Berkeley; *The New Northwest*, microfilm at University of Oregon; *The Colorado Antelope* and *Queen Bee*, Colorado State Historical Society; *The Coming Century*, University of Oregon; *The Alki*, Washington State Historical Society; *The Pacific Empire*, Oregon Historical Society; *The Nevada Citizen*, Nevada Historical Society; *The Woman's Tribune*, Oregon Historical Society; *The Yellow Ribbon* and *Western Woman*, Bancroft Library; *White Pine Suffragist*, Nevada Historical Society; *Weekly Bulletin of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society*, Nevada Historical Society. The papers mentioned that supported suffrage but were not primarily suffrage papers are *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, microfilm at U.S. National Library of Medicine; *Woman's Exponent*, microfilm at University of Utah; and *Woman's Herald of Industry and Social Science Cooperator*, Bancroft Library.

[4]The states included in this study, with years they adopted woman suffrage, are Arizona, 1912; California, 1911; Colorado, 1893; Idaho, 1896; Montana, 1914; Nevada, 1914; New Mexico, 1920; Oregon, 1912; Utah, 1870 and 1896; Washington, 1910; Wyoming, 1869.

[5]Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984), p. 16.

[6]*Sunday Mercury*, Jan. 24, 1869, p. 2.

[7]Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (1886; New York: Arno and *The New York Times*, 1969), III, p. 769.

[8]*The Pioneer*, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 1.

[9]Caroline Nichols Churchill, *Active Footsteps* (Colorado Springs: Mrs. C. N. Churchill, 1909), p. 81.

[10]"Alki," an Indian word meaning "bye and bye" and the Washington state motto, was particularly appropriate for a suffrage paper.

[11]Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), V, p. 11.

[12]*Ibid.*, VI, p. 677.

[13]*The Western Woman Voter*, Jan., 1911, p. 6.

[14]*The Idaho Woman*, April 15, 1897.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 1.

[16]Harper, VI, p. 366.

[17]*Ibid.*, pp. 33, 43.

[18]*Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, June, 1879, p. 23.

[19]The Edmunds-Tucker Bill disenfranchised all women in Utah territory in 1887.

[20]*Woman's Herald of Industry and Social Science Cooperator*, Sept. 1881, p. 1.

[21]*Ibid.*, July, 1882, p. 1.

[22]Aileen. S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

[23]Other arguments were that the ballot was needed for women's own protection, 18 mentions; that enfranchised women would benefit society, 17 mentions; and that suffrage would enhance feminine qualities, 9 mentions. Lauren Kessler presented these figures in her article for the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.

[24]Schaffer. Kraditor divides the arguments into two major categories, natural rights and expediency.

[25]Schaffer, p. 487.

[26]*Saturday Evening Mercury*, Aug. 14, 1869, p. 1.

[27]*The Nevada Citizen*, June, 1897, p. 3.

[28]*The Woman's Tribune*, July 8, 1905, p. 2.

[29]*The New Northwest*, Jan. 23, 1879, p. 2.

[30]*Western Woman*, July 11, 1907, p. 5.

[31]*Sunday Mercury*, July 10, 1869, p. 1.

[32]*The Pioneer*, June 27, 1872, p. 8.

[33]*Saturday Evening Mercury*, Sept. 4, 1869, p. 1.

[34]*The Alki*, April 15, 1895, pp. 3-4.

[35]*The Yellow Ribbon*, March, 1907, p. 3.

[36]*Ibid.*, May, 1907, p. 4.

[37]*The New Northwest*, Nov. 5, 1875, p. 2.

[38]In her two-part article for the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Kessler stated that the economic argument was the one most mentioned in Duniway's publications.

[39]*Western Woman*, July 11, 1907, p. 9.

[40]*The Yellow Ribbon*, Nov., 1906, p. 1.

[41]*Ibid.*, March., 1907, p. 2.

[42]*The Alki*, April 15, 1895, p. 8.

[43]Schaffer, p. 469.

William Hard as Progressive Journalist

By Ron Marmarelli

William Hard earned a solid reputation among his contemporaries as an interpreter of public affairs during a career in newspaper, magazine, and radio journalism that spanned nearly six decades. He did some of his most interesting and important work in the first two of those decades.

From 1900 to 1920, Hard traveled the many-forked path of progressivism that ran through those years. His was not a unique experience. Many journalists and others involved themselves as writers and advocates in a variety of causes and campaigns. Indeed, one of the key themes of the historiography of progressivism emphasizes the variegated nature of the phenomenon, which was a movement only in the loosest sense of the word.[1] Many years before the most recent historiographical debate about progressivism, historian Daniel Aaron, noting the various threads of activity that were being woven together to define progressivism, suggested the notion of the "composite progressive" as:

> a person who worked for the wider diffusion of economic, political, and social equality, who sought to approximate the moral code in politics, who combined a zeal for service with a curiosity for facts, who worked for the gradual displacement of the obsolete by the new, who understood the relation between human conduct and unjust economic conditions, who believed in "purposeful change."[2]

Hard enunciated his version of the progressive creed in 1920 when he described his journalism as:

> a diligent effort to persuade myself and other people that this world could be made into a very nice world without jarring it. It could be made to evolve gently into a democratic and cooperative world through getting accustomed to performing acts of justice and kindness.

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He claimed to have missed promoting "few measures of humane justice from the powerful to the powerless . . . "[3]

This article offers a selective look at William Hard's magazine journalism from one of the most productive periods of his long career. The purpose is to depict Hard as a kind of model of the progressive journalist – and more broadly, as a "composite progressive" of the type described by Daniel Aaron – by showing how Hard involved himself directly and journalistically with a range of ideas and issues among the many on the progressive agenda. A brief biographical sketch precedes the examination of the journalist's progressive experience.

Hard was born September 15, 1878, in Painted Post, New York.[4] When he was four years old, he went with his parents to India, where his father, a Methodist minister, was a missionary. In 1900, he earned a bachelor of arts degree in history at Northwestern University and lectured in medieval history at Northwestern for one year.

He left university teaching after one year to take on the job of head resident at the Northwestern University Settlement House in Chicago in 1901 and wrote articles advocating local reform for the settlement house's monthly publication, *The Neighbor*, which he started and edited. In 1902 he was hired by the *Chicago Tribune* to write editorials. After three years at the *Tribune*, Hard left in 1905 to join the reform administration of Mayor Edward F. Dunne as an assistant to Joseph Medill Patterson, Chicago's commissioner of public works, with whom Hard had worked at the newspaper. Patterson declared himself a socialist in 1906 and resigned his post; Hard took leave of government shortly thereafter.

During his years at the *Tribune*, he had begun writing for magazines on a free-lance basis, and by 1906 his articles were appearing regularly in *Saturday Evening Post*, *Outlook*, and *American*. He was Chicago editor for *Ridgway's. A Militant Weekly for God and Country*, starting in late 1906. When the magazine, an offshoot of *Everybody's*, folded in early 1907, he began writing regularly for *Everybody's* and *The Delineator*, another Ridgway publication, until 1917. His work included articles on child labor and unsafe conditions in industry and several series on the status of modern woman. He was editor of *Everybody's* in 1915. Hard also wrote for other magazines and newspapers and after 1914 was a Washington correspondent for *Metropolitan* and, from 1917 to 1920, a weekly contributor to *New Republic*.

In the early years of this century many aspiring writers and social activists were drawn to Chicago, a city that Lincoln Steffens described in 1903 as:

> First in violence, deepest in dirt; loud, lawless, unlovely, ill-smelling, irreverent, new; an overgrown gawk of a village, the "tough" among cities, a spectacle for the nation . . . .[5]

Hard entered into that spectacle in 1901 to take up what he later called "the doing game"[6] in the Seventeenth Ward at the Northwestern University Settlement House. As a bachelor in his early twenties, a college graduate, born in the Northeast of old-stock parentage, the son of a minister, he was among peers in the settlement ranks.[7]

His undertaking of that work was something of a carrying-on of the missionary work he had witnessed his father doing, but it was also something more. It had its religious dimension, a reflection of the religious element in progressivism that has been widely noted. Images of evangelical Protestants setting off to bring justice and righteousness to the modern world abound in the literature of progressivism and the history about it. Settlement work offered ample room for Christian service and opportunities for "lessons in love through kindly good deeds," a descriptive phrase Hard used later to refer to humanitarian reform efforts generally.[8]

Beyond that dimension of the experience, which was important, there was more in it for the young Hard. Northwestern's Settlement House had been founded in 1891 by Charles Zeublin, sociologist, reformer, and Social Gospel minister. It was meant to be a center for studying urban life and a catalyst for reforming the city. For the young man with an urge to work for social justice and with aspirations for a writing career, it was the perfect place to be. Historian John McClymer has pointed out the importance of the settlement in the growth of "social engineering," the typically progressive endeavor by which one sought to "scientifically predict and control the direction, pace, and effects of social change." Settlement work "secularized the religious impulse" and the workers became "secular missionaries" to the urban working class.[9]

The settlement house life involved one in all manner of social phenomena and causes – anything pertinent to the neighborhood that was the focus of the work.[10] For Hard, the experience meant involvement in the lives of workers, which made him a strong supporter of organized labor.

Hard's words and actions regarding organized labor make it evident that he does not fit under the anti-union label that, historian George Mowry has written, fit most progressives. Settlement workers in general tended to be more sympathetic to the cause of organized labor than the progressives Mowry describes. They were closer to Theodore Roosevelt's general view, as Mowry states it, that organized labor contributed to the general welfare. That was true, of course, only as long as labor groups did not take radical action. What was wanted was a conservative labor movement to prevent the spread of socialism among workers.[11]

In his writing on unions, Hard, although unequivocally supportive of the unions, followed this line. He expressed his dedication to the labor cause early. In a letter to his fiancee, Hard wrote:

> When I said this afternoon that I had gone out of the doing game into the writing game I did not mean that I had also gone out of the labor game. When I cease to study into, and to write for, labor then may my fingers get writer's cramp and my pencil cleave to my paper. I should be a mental and spiritual dead one if I failed, whatever I did, to be on the labor side.[12]

His first major venture into labor journalism was a 1904 *Outlook* article he and Ernest Poole, another former settlement worker, wrote on the Chicago stockyards strike of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Their article presented the issue as being one of dispute between the packers' profits and decent living conditions for workers. Under existing conditions, they wrote, it was "hard for family life to be wholesome and pure." Packers thought of the issue wrongly as one of simple labor supply and demand, but, Hard and Poole argued, workers should be treated as humanity and not equipment. They called for use of arbitration according to a "scientific method on recognized principles as to make future struggle unnecessary."[13]

Almost sixteen years later, Hard was still looking for ways to avoid struggle, apply science, raise workers to positions of responsibility in some form of industrial democracy. Striking steelworkers were not seeking to overthrow the system, he wrote, but "were trying to abolish primitive personal autocracy in wages and hours . . . ."[14] Coal miners wanted the industry conducted not as a sport but as a science.[15] The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were looking in a progressive way at the theory of industrial management by workers' representatives, giving the workers industrial responsibility. It was "a continuous tentative advance in industrial efficiency . . . an alternative to sabotage."[16] Hard argued that giving the workers a stake in the system would protect it. He viewed the Farmer-Labor Party as seeking the planting of the principle of a new order

> in the existing order and then watching it grow into whatever new order may be developed through the ensuing relation between an ownership shorn of autocracy and working staffs raised to responsibility.[17]

The outcome, he wrote, would be harmony within the capitalistic order, without revolution.

Much of Hard's work reflected the progressive faith in man's ability to progress by ameliorating through "purposeful action" the undesirable conditions resulting from modern industrial society. To the progressives, this meant intervention by the community, acting through government, in economic and social affairs. This action would secure social justice and impose order and rationality on chaotic and costly (in human as well as economic terms) features of the society.[18] The "reform generation" of Hard's time, historian Clarke Chambers has written:

> believed in the efficacy of facts; it believed in the ultimate benevolence of an informed public; it asserted that government could be a great agency for the elevation of the human race; it believed that when the people really knew what the conditions were that stood in the way of social justice, they would take appropriate steps to root out evil . . . . It preached a commanding faith in the possibility of regenerated mankind if false, corrupt, encrusted institutions were only reformed, as surely they could be reformed if the people took thought, were well informed, and aroused to action . . . .[19]

Hard's optimism about "the power of the growing sentiment toward the

governmental protection of the working class" was evident in an unsigned editorial on "Industrial Legislation" he contributed to *Outlook* in June 1907. It rejoiced at the passage by the Illinois legislature of several pieces of protective legislation. The editorial reflected the nature of his journalistic endeavors of that time, when he was at work on several projects dealing with industrial life.[20]

In a series of articles for Everybody's in 1907 and 1908, Hard muckraked industrial safety and provided readers with facts and remedies concerning factory accidents and industrial insurance.[21] One of his articles, "Making Steel and Killing Men," questioned the high human price paid for producing steel:

> Must we continue to pay this price for the honor of leading the world in the cheap and rapid production of steel and iron? Must we continue to be obliged to think of scorched and scalded human beings whenever we sit on the back platform of an observation car and watch the steel rails rolling out behind us? Is this price necessary, or could we strike a better bargain if we were shrewder and more careful?

He argued for "public supervision" of steelmaking, partly for humanitarian reasons but also for practical considerations resting "on solid motives of self-interest." Society paid, privately or publicly, for the consequences of industrial accidents, because they result in "poverty, demoralization, vice and crime." He proposed two remedies: publicity and safety inspections, with enforcement of safety rules.[22]

The need to eliminate waste and injustice without class conflict and for the benefit of all was the theme of Hard's two 1908 articles on industrial insurance. He elaborated on the subject of industrial accidents and examined the question of what society should do, for itself and for the individual, about the disabled worker.[23] "Pensioners of Peace," the second of the articles, contrasted the American system of litigation with the German system. Hard wrote that the former was medieval, unscientific, and bred strife; the latter was modern and scientific, provided service and promoted peace. The nature of the American system represented a paradox to Hard. He observed:

> Personally, individually, the American is charitable and humane beyond charity and humanity of the inhabitants of any other country in the world. The fact that the particular country he owns and operates is the world's industrial slaughterhouse is a paradox in industrial character.

Hard advocated adoption of the principle of workmen's compensation to achieve not only social justice but also regularity and predictability in the otherwise disorderly and wasteful method of dealing with victims of the "industrial slaughterhouse."[24] It was an idea progressive industrialists supported, as some scholars have shown.[25]

The point of Hard's work was, essentially, conservative – reform the

"down-to-a-second and down-to-a-cent precalculated frenzy of modern manufacturing" without dismantling it.[26] Achieve reform without radical change and, thereby, forestall radical change – a thoroughly progressive doctrine.

In December 1913, *Everybody's* announced it had decided the time had come for "constructive" journalism in place of muckraking. The occasion was the start of Hard's series "Better Business," the "whole idea" of which, he wrote his wife, was this: "What measure, about trusts, about banks, about patents, about anything else, will give the United States the most progress in prosperity?"[27] The series dealt considerably less with trusts and banks than with technological innovation and reform of the Patent Office. That content flowed naturally from Hard's assertion in the first article: "Better Business . . . will now, more than ever, rest on Better Engineering," he wrote. Progress in business, along with tariff reform, "is turning this country to World Competition." But to the "world's engineering fund," the United States had not been contributing its "proportionate share of innovations." That view was emphasized:

> IN THE SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUE OF INDUSTRY, THE UNITED STATES (THOUGH IT HOLDS MANY BLUE RIBBONS FOR INDIVIDUAL TRIUMPHS) HAS BEEN OCCUPYING, ON THE WHOLE, IN RECENT YEARS, THE POSITION NOT OF A LEADER BUT OF A LAGGARD.

Hard stressed that industry had to progress for the benefit of all, not merely because of international competition. He explained:

> Progressiveness, . . . in the scientific technique of industry, means cheapened production and therefore increased production. Increased production, in turn, means increased prosperity; because, whenever new territory is added to our annual wealth, the justified demands of the wage-earners compel a portion of it.[28]

His views were similar to those of Roosevelt, Wilson, and other progressive leaders. Roosevelt relished the prospect of international competition in business and industry and called for support of that form of business organization that would best promote productivity and efficiency. Wilson was confident America's technological efficiency would give it dominance in world trade.[29]

On the question of regulation of business Hard took the position that mere regulation was not so important as progress in business. The important question about trusts and patents, he wrote, was not whether wicked people had become rich but whether trusts and patents had "resulted in technical and commercial advance" and had promoted further advance. The efficiency of both had been questioned, he noted, and he proposed to inquire into the charges of inefficiency. His only rule was to be:

> Whatever checks industrial progress, though it may for the moment permit much profit-taking, is in the end a commercial disaster; and whatever accelerates industrial progress, though it may for the moment seem radical, is in the end Better Business.[30]

His study of the patent system suggested its cost and inefficiency contributed to monopolization. Reform of the patent system, he wrote, might be the most important "Better-Business" reform. He valued progress over "theoretical justice" and suggested drawn-out patent litigation, intended, in theory, to achieve justice, was wasteful. Hard wrote admiringly of the German system of handling patents. What the United States needed, he argued, was a professionalized administrative system that operated in a rational, orderly, and scientifically efficient manner.[31]

The emphasis on efficiency in Hard's work was pervasive in his time. Indeed, one of the commonalities among various reform elements was this espousal of the Gospel of Efficiency. As Otis Graham has noted:

> The word *efficiency* was a kind of litmus of reformism. All the renovators and innovators believed in efficiency, counted on its strong appeal to a generation impressed with the promise of science, and used it to justify the most diverse activities . . . (Efficiency offered) a vision of a society happier because social engineers had brought an end to wastefulness and irrationality in all its various activities.[32]

A few years after "Better Business" Hard elaborated on his view of efficiency. He wrote that efficiency, as he saw it, was not "anti-liberal." He said he meant not the efficiency represented by the outdated image of the machine but the national efficiency of "ferment." This was, he wrote:

> a working ferment of self-conscious modern individuals in self-conscious multitudinous associations; and the statesmen who operate it successfully will have to be dealing with living "organisms" and living "reactions" even more than with "levers" of mere command and "cogs" of mere obedience.[33]

In a later article he criticized Postmaster General Albert Burleson and others in the Wilson Administration for operating a system run by "efficiency experts who are mere efficiency bugs" and not "efficiency humans."[34] Thus did the progressive attempt to square science with humanism, an exercise many attempted.[35] In the progressive view of things, Better Business and Better Government meant that all would advance in harmony in the new liberal corporate order.

The coming of the First World War elicited a mixed response from progressives. Some supported peace efforts; others called for American preparedness, if not intervention.[36] The approach of war found Hard, as a writer, eager to have something to do with it. If war should come, he wrote his wife, "what's the use of writing articles on anything else? I couldn't compete

with the regular professional war correspondents but I could at least do something at it."[37] If the United States were to become involved, he was certain who would be the enemy. "I join you in wanting to torpedo those German boats at Hoboken," he told his wife. "After all, it is the Germans that made all this blood-letting necessary."[38]

Hard and *Everybody's* were insistent about preparedness. In September 1915, when Hard was editor, the magazine published several articles under the heading "The Wings of the Eagle" in an issue whose cover was emblazoned with a representation of a screaming eagle with patriotic colors all around.[39] Hard's article, "Leaders Toward World Peace – True Ones and False Ones," in the October issue attacked "war-is-always-wrong Pacifism."[40] He was a member of the National Security League, "pledged to aid in securing adequate preparation for National Defense."[41]

Like many progressives, Hard hoped the war effort would benefit the nation by nurturing unity and national commitment and by furthering the development of the efficient national state. He traveled to England in 1916 for *Metropolitan Magazine* and found a "splendid accommodation of interests which seems to have taken place for the purposes of the war." That nation, he wrote, "is most certainly benefitting in its morale, industrial and social, by this war, tremendously."[42] Back in the United States, however, Hard found much for which to fault the Wilson Administration. In his *New Republic* articles in 1917 and 1918 Hard cited case after case of what he saw as maladministration and "planlessness" in the administration's war effort.[43]

Attention was diverted from the home front by developments in Russia. Hard's long friendship with Raymond Robins resulted in his writing Robins' story of eighteen months spent in Russia as an American Red Cross official and as an American observer.[44] Like Robins and some other "liberals of the Robins-*New Republic* persuasion," as historian N. Gordon Levin describes them, Hard hoped for an accommodation between Wilson and Lenin that would result in a common effort against Germany and preserve the liberal features of the Revolution.[45] He and Robins were not socialists or Bolsheviks, Hard was persistent in declaring. Robins, Hard wrote, "is the most anti-Bolshevik person I have ever known, in way of thought" and "has been consistently outspoken against it everywhere, including Petrograd."[46] Speaking for himself, Hard wrote:

> I know in my own case that I could not be a Bolshevik without surrendering what is to me the most precious heritage of the life of my ancestors in this country – the adventure toward governing by a common consultation of the consciences of all men.[47]

But Hard distinguished between types of anti-Bolshevism. In a series of *New Republic* articles, Hard went after what he termed "interventionist anti-Bolshevism" as practiced by Wilson Administration officials and others.[48] He chastised Secretary of State Robert Lansing and others for promoting class struggle by their anti-Bolshevism, which he termed anti-democratic, based on fraud, and subsidized by pro-czarist elements. Americans were naturally anti-

Bolshevik, he wrote, but the way anti-Bolshevism was practiced by certain elements was anti-American.[49]

By 1920, Hard was deeply concerned about the state of the nation and world after the momentous events of twenty years. The immediate post-war years saw him speaking out against the Red Scare and the raids directed by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and against the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, which he believed would involve the United States in preserving the illiberal order imposed on Europe after the war.[50] At the same time Hard offered his description of the progressive creed and cited his journalistic efforts to foster the gentle evolution of a "democratic and cooperative world," he was as despondent about the results of his efforts as he was proud of having made them. After all he and the others had written, after all that had been adopted in the way of "humanitarian reforms," he wrote:

> I had the slightly painful experience of observing that the world was less humane, more brutal, more savage, more willfully cruel, than ever, and that the era which opened with the spectacle of the rise of Jane Addams could close with the rise of A. Mitchell Palmer.[51]

His thinking carried him into the Farmer-Labor Party, which, he wrote:

> raises the ideal of institutions increasingly penetrated by man the worker, man the producer, man not living by dominion of personal possession over other men, but by cooperation with them in a common creative endeavor on an equality of personality. That equality before the altar is religion. That equality before the world is peace. So I see it.[52]

Subsequent years found Hard seeking answers to the question "What is Progressivism?" speaking out against "governmentalization" and the domination by "reactionaries" of the instruments created by progressives to achieve reform, and opposing New Deal paternalism.[53] The progressive journalist, a champion of order and efficiency, of social justice and social control, found himself in a world he may have had a hand in creating and was not happy with the results. It is to Hard's credit as a perceptive "interpreter of the feverish chronicle of the present," as journalist Alva Johnston later described him,[54] that he recognized as early as 1920 that his "diligent effort" at persuasion had been inadequate to achieve the kind of "democratic and cooperative world" he sought.

NOTES

[1]See Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (December 1983), 114-15, 121-27; Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: 1983), pp. 1-3, 10, and "Bibliographical Essay," pp. 119-40, for recent statements on this point and for comprehensive reviews of the literature on progressivism. See also Benjamin Parke Dewitt, *The Progressive Movement. A Non-partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendicies in American Politics* (1915; Seattle, Wash: 1968), pp. vii, 3, for a contemporaneous view.

[2]Daniel Aaron, *Men of Good Hope. A Story of American Progressivism* (New York: 1951), p. 287.

[3]Hard, "Farmer-Labor: The Background," *New Republic*, 24 (Oct. 13, 1920), 168-70.

[4]Biographical information presented here is taken in part from my article on Hard in the *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Seven* (New York: 1981), pp. 320-21, and from material gathered during several years of research into Hard's life and journalistic career. See also *National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. 56* (Clifton, N.J.: 1975), pp. 42-43.

[5]Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: 1957), p. 163. This is a collection of articles written for *McClure's*, 1902-1904.

[6]William Hard to Anne Scribner, undated, William Hard Papers, Archive of Contemporary History, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laremie, Wyoming. Hereafter cited as Hard Papers.

[7]Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads of Reform. The Social Settlements And the Progressive Movement 1890-1914* (1967; New Brunswick, N.J.: 1984), pp. 33-39.

[8]Hard, "Farmer-Labor: The Background," *New Republic*, 24 (Oct. 13, 1920), 168. This is similar to George E. Mowry's statement that the progressive thought of himself as "a 'kind-Hearted man' dealing in justice." Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America, 1900-1912* (New York: 1958), p. 104. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Methodist missionaries such as Hard's father worked among the poor and outcastes in India, which was perhaps to William Hard similar to working with the urban poor. See Emory S. Bucke, *et al.*, eds., *The History of American Methodism. Vol.III* (New York: 1964), p. 77. On progressivism and religion, see, especially, Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform. The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920* (New York: 1982), pp. 3-5; Otis L. Graham Jr., *The Great Campaigns. Reform and War in America, 1900-1928* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: 1971), p. 15.

[9]Davis, pp. 26-31, 170; John F. McClymer, *War and Welfare: Social Engineering in America, 1890-1925* (Westport, Conn.: 1980), pp. 3, 12, 16.

[10]Clarke Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey. Voices for Social Welfare and Social Justice*, (Minneapolis: 1971), p. 25.

[11]Mowry, pp. 100-03, 141-42; Davis, pp. xii, 102-22; Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York: 1963), p. 66. See also Jane Addams, "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," in *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895; New York: 1970), pp. 183-204.

[12]WH to Anne Scribner, undated, Hard Papers. In a later letter, Hard told her that the kind of "series that would carry me personally into my own field would be one on labor." WH to Anne Hard, Jan. 11, 1913, Hard Papers.

[13]"The Stock Yards Strike. Competitive Wages And the Right to Live," *Outlook*, 77 (Aug. 13, 1904), 884-89. See also Ernest Poole, *The Bridge* (New York: 1940), pp. 92-94; Hard, "Labor in the Chicago Stockyards," *Outlook*, 83 (June 16, 1906), 366-73; Davis, pp. 112-20 and n. 142, p. 281.

[14]"William Z. Foster," *New Republic*, 21 (Jan. 7, 1920), 166.

[15]"Out of the Mouths of Miners," *New Republic*, 21 (Jan 21, 1920), 237.

[16]"Hillman and the Amalgamated," *New Republic*, 23 (June 2, 1920), 16.

[17]"Farmer-Labor: The Project," *New Republic*, 24 (Oct. 27, 1920), 219.

[18]See Link and McCormick, pp. 21-22; Graham, p. 33

[19]Chambers, p. 29.

[20]"Industrial Legislation," *Outlook*, 86 (June 1, 1907), 224-25.

[21]On Hard as a muckraker, see Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers* (University Park, Pa.: 1976) n. 11, p. 273; Arthur and Lila Weinburg, eds., *The Muckrakers* (New York: 1961), pp. 85, 340-41, 360, 432.

[22]*Everybody's*, 17 (November 1907), 582-88. See Roy Lubove, *The Struggle for Social Security* (Cambridge: 1968), p. 46, concerning the work of writers such as Hard who wrote about industrial accidents. Paul Uselding raises doubts about the extent of industrial accidents in Hard's day. "In Dispraise of Muckrakers: United States Occupational Mortality, 1890-1910," in ed. Uselding, *Research in Economic History. I.* (Greenwich, Conn.: 1976), pp. 334-71.

[23]"The Law of the Killed and the Wounded," *Everybody's*, 19 (September 1908), 361-71; "Pensioners of Peace," *Everybody's*, 19 (October 1908). 522-33.

[24]"Pensioners of Peace," p. 523.

[25]See, for example, James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: 1968), pp. 40-61; Robert Asher, "Business and Workers' Welfare in the Progressive Era: Workmen's Compensation Reform in Massachusetts, 1880-1911," *Business History Review*, 43 (Winter 1969), 452-75; Robert F. Wesser, "Conflict and Compromise: The Workman's Compensation

Movement in New York, 1890s-1913," *Labor History*, 12 (Summer 1971), 345-72.

[26]The quoted words are from Hard, "The Woman's Invasion. I," *Everybody's* 19 (November 1908), 582. See Link amd McCormick, p. 21; Kolko, pp. 6, 76; N. Gordon Levin Jr., *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics. America's Response to War and Revolution* (New York: 1968), p. 193.

[27]"Straight Talk with Everybody's Publishers," *Everybody's*, 29 (December 1913), 865-66; WH to Anne Hard, September 1913, Hard Papers.

[28]"Brains Across the Sea," *Everybody's*, 29 (December 1913), 734-47.

[29]Kolko, pp. 197-99; Levin, p. 14.

[30]"Brains Across the Sea," p. 747.

[31]"The Patent Game, As Played, Is Making Business Too Rough. Revise the Rules," *Everybody's* 30 (January 1914), 17-30

[32]Graham, p. 155. See also Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: 1967), pp. 167-68, 170, 176.

[33]"Efficiency and the 'He-Man,'" *New Republic*, 14 (March 9, 1918), 334.

[34]"Mr. Burleson, Service-Wrecker," *New Republic*, 18 (April 12, 1919), 334.

[35]See "A Government Plea for Health Insurance," *New Republic*, 7 (May 29, 1916), 55; "Efficiency Without Inhumanity," *New Republic*, 14 (Feb. 9, 1918), 39; Don S. Kirshner, "The Ambiguous Legacy: Social Justice and Social Control in the Progressive Era," *Historical Reflections*, 2 (Summer 1975), 69-88; James A. Nuechterlein, "The Dream of Scientific Liberalism: The *New Republic* and American Progressive Thought, 1914-1920," *Review of Politics*, 42 (April 1980), 167-90.

[36]On preparedness, see Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York: 1954), pp. 174-96. On progressives and the war, see Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism* (New York: 1961), pp. 221-286; Walter Trattner "Progressivism and World War I: A Re-Appraisal," *Mid-America*, 4 (July 11962), 131-45; Charles Hirschfield, "Nationalist Progressives and World War I," *Mid-America*, 45 (July 1963), 139-46.

[37]WH to AH, April, 17, 1914, Hard Papers.

[38]WH to AH, Nov. 19, 1914, Hard Papers.

[39]Hard's was "America Must Prepare," *Everybody's*, 33 (September 1915), 257-61.

[40]*Everybody's*, 33 (October 1915), 385-96.

[41]Certificate in Hard Papers. See Link, p. 177.

[42]WH to AH, Sept 14, Oct. 5, 1916, Hard Papers. His articles were published in a collection titled *How the English Take the War* (New York: 1917).

[43]See, for example, in *New Republic*, "Unity at Washington?," 11 (July 7, 1917), 266-68; "Wanted – A Policy," 11 (July 28, 1917), 352-54; "Retarding the Allies," 13 (Dec. 29, 1917), 238-40; "Mr. Baker Reaps," 16 (Aug. 24, 1918), 98-101.

[44]*Raymond Robins' Own Story* (New York: 1920). See also Hard, "Raymond Robins," *New Republic*, 16 (Aug. 10, 1918), 39-41.

[45]Levin, pp, 75-76, 211-212.

[46]*Raymond Robins' Own Story*, pp. 1-5.

[47]"Raymond Robins," p. 39.

[48]The *New Republic* articles are "Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Lansing," 19 (July 2, 1919), 271-73; "Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Spargo, " 19 (July 9, 1919); "Anti-Bolsheviks: The Up Rollers," 19 (July 16, 1919), 351-54; "Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Sack," 19 (July 23, 1919), 385-87; "Anti-Bolsheviks: The Twenty Millions," 19 (July 30, 1919), 411-14; "Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Bakhmetov," 20 (Aug. 13, 1919), 45-48.

[49]"Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Lansing," p. 273; "Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Bakhmetov," p. 48.

[50]"Article Ten of the League," *New Republic*, 18 (March 22, 1919), 237-40; "Is Palmer Guilty of 'High Crimes'?" *New Republic*, 22 (May 12, 1920), 347-48. The Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University has two cartons of material gathered by Hard for a book he intended to write on the League of Nations.

[51]"Farmer-Labor: The Background," *New Republic*, 24 (Oct. 13. 1920), 170.

[52]"Farmer-Labor: The Project," *New Republic* 24 (Oct. 27, 1920), 219. See also, Herbert Croly, "The Eclipse of Progressivism," *New Republic*, 24 (Oct. 27, 1920), 210-16, in which he endorsed the Farmer-Labor Party.

[53]"What is Progressivism?", *Nation*, 118 (Jan. 9, 1924), 27-28; "In Bad All Around," 119 (Dec. 3, 1924), 599; "Where are the Pre-War Radicals?" *Survey*, 55 (Feb. 1, 1926), 556-59; Otis L. Graham Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: 1967), p. 192.

[54]Alva Johnston, "William Hard," p. 2.

This is an unpublished manuscript dating from about 1942, a copy of which Mrs. Eleanor Hard Lake, William Hard's daughter, provided.

Historians and the American Press, 1900-1945: Working Profession or Big Business?

By Wm. David Sloan

Journalism in the twentieth century witnessed two trends which dominated the American press: the growth of the news media as business institutions and the increased professionalization of working journalists. While both had their roots in the 1800s, it was not until the turn of the century that the two became the most significant forces in determining the nature of American journalism. Whereas journalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem to have been motivated substantially by partisanship and the desire to affect social conditions, owners in the 1900s seemed more and more to view the media as profit-making properties, while working journalists saw themselves more and more intensely as members of a profession.

Historians writing about the press of the first half of the twentieth century tended to explain it primarily in terms of one of the two trends, although their explanations reflected diverse points of view. They offered varying pictures of the members of the press, both working journalists and owners. Were working journalists to be seen as crusaders for reform or as detached, responsible professionals? Were owners conservative profiteers who used the media for their own personal gain or energetic, innovative businessmen who made the American mass media into the best in the world? Or were they all, journalists and owners alike, simply actors influenced by the conditions of the American environment? Most historians, in answering these questions, tended to agree in their criticism of the business-related developments in American journalism while looking with favor on professional growth. Yet while recognizing the sharp dichotomy that existed, they made little attempt to show the relationship between the two dominant characteristics.

The following study offers an analysis of historical work on the American press in the first half of the twentieth century. Based on an analysis of more than 200 books and journal articles, it discusses the various approaches historians have used in explaining the press and examines selected accounts which are either outstanding or representative. A corollary intent of the study is to provide a better analysis of the schools of interpretation of journalism history in general than has been done before.

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Most historians divided the first half of the twentieth century into several areas, including the Muckraking, reform-oriented press of the century's first decade; the press of the two World Wars; the press and the depression; and the beginnings of broadcasting.[1] While those aspects of journalism rose to prominence during specific years, changes in the business motivations of newspaper ownership and the increased professionalization of the field underlay the entire period. These were the features that gained most attention from historians. Four schools dominated historical interpretation, and in general a liberal political and social viewpoint marked most works. Progressive historians of the 1920s-1940s presented the most liberal view, a view marked by political partisanship and based on a concept of conflict between America's business and working classes. These historians placed particular emphasis on the crusading function of the press and were strongly biased against the trend toward increased emphasis on profit by press owners.

Developmental historians, who also were writing as early as the 1920s, also had a liberal perspective, but they primarily were concerned with the professional development of journalism standards. They equated liberalism just as much with professionalism as with political ideology. They considered liberalism and crusades, in other words, simply as inherent and appropriate journalistic practices, rather than as partisan ideology and methods. Treated most favorably by these historians were those journalists and events which contributed to such progress. While some Developmental historians held critical opinions of the growing business orientation of the press, they based their objections on fears of its influence on professional practices rather than on a business-labor class division.

The view of Progressive historians was altered even more by the work of Business historians, most of whom wrote within a Neo-conservative school of interpretation. Business historians challenged the Progressive view that big business was the villain in American history. They believed media owners had provided creative and constructive approaches to major and difficult economic situations and in the process had helped make America's mass media system into the best in the world.

Cultural historians, whose approach resembled that of the Business/Neo-conservative school in its acceptance of the work of media owners, differed from Business historians by emphasizing environmental factors rather than the motives and achievements of owners. Cultural historians believed factors in the social, economic, and political environment determined the nature of the press. The first works on American journalism by the Cultural school appeared in the early 1900s, but Cultural historians did not apply their concepts to the twentieth-century press until the 1930s. Writing against a background of the industrialization of the United States and the growth of big business in the American economy, Cultural historians considered the increase in the importance of the press as a business institution a natural development. Rather than viewing it critically as Progressive historians had done, they approached the trend toward big business in journalism with a neutral attitude and simply assumed that it was to be expected as the normal result of economic conditions.

The Progressive historians, who thought of journalism in ideological terms, believed the primary purpose of the press was to crusade for liberal social and economic causes, to fight on the side of the masses of common, working people against the entrenched interests in American business and government. The heroes in their histories were journalists such as Heywood Broun, a leader of efforts to unionize other journalists in the 1930s; Marshall Field III, liberal owner of *PM* in the 1940s; William Allen White, who turned from his early Republican conservatism to become a mainstream leader of liberal causes; and E.W. Scripps, whose newspaper chain crusaded for improvement of various social conditions. John L. Heaton's 1924 study *Cobb of "The World": A Leader in Liberalism* typified the biographers' works. Heaton viewed Frank Cobb, Joseph Pulitzer's successor as editor of the New York *World*, as a pure liberal, honest and sincere, who made the *World* American journalism's leading advocate of liberal causes aimed at improving political, judicial, economic, and social conditions.

The leading advocates of the Progressive interpretation, however, were George Seldes and Oswald Garrison Villard. In two major works in the 1930s, Seldes attacked the self-serving uses to which wealthy owners put their newspapers. In *Freedom of the Press* (1935), he argued that big business' control of the press was destroying press freedom. The American press, he argued, was "subject to the control of an oligarchy of big money and big business which is trying to destroy the foundations upon which free government is built." No section of journalism went untouched. Advertisers, public utilities, big business in general, and propagandists colored and suppressed the news and corrupted both the press and the public. The Associated Press, Seldes declared, always sided with authority, no matter how corrupt, while the conservative New York *Times* spoke for the status quo, and William Randolph Hearst was a friend of privilege and possessed no social conscience. In the areas of social reforms, Seldes denounced the press for opposition to the rights of labor, support of child labor for "purely financial reasons," scandal and invasion of privacy, interference with trial by jury, and critical treatment of the American Newspaper Guild. "When you have," he concluded, "a majority of the American press publishing . . . propaganda . . . because they are paid to do so rather than giving the truth on both sides," it is impossible to have a freedom of the press "where truth is not concealed."[2] Seldes followed his first work with *Lords of the Press* in 1938. Employing the same theme of the pernicious effect of "wealthy moneymakers'" ownership of newspapers, he argued that the press typically was ultra-conservative and failed to ensure fair news treatment of labor or social and economic reforms.

One of the foremost villains in this Progressive approach was Frank Munsey. In a work preceding Seldes', Robert Duffus claimed that Munsey's papers had no "general or permanent significance. They merely reflect Mr. Munsey, and when he is dead they will reflect someone else. He has acquired no following in daily journalism. He has demonstrated that newspapers are not institutions, like schools and churches, but commodities, like motor cars . . . . Perhaps this consoles him for his inability to own and edit one thousand 'independent, fearless and honest' American newspapers."[3] In a fuller 1935 biography, *Forty Years, Forty Millions*, George Britt painted

Munsey as a man who executed papers and made journalism into a business with a primary concern for money. In most instances, Britt said, Munsey's editorial stands were determined by their potential to make him profit or increase his personal standing. Such works as Lawrence Green's *The Era of Wonderful Nonsense* (1939), Raymond B. Nixon's "Concentration and Absenteeism in Daily Newspaper Ownership" (1945),[4] and Edwin Emery's *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association* (1950) presented similar views on the business ownership of the press. Nixon especially lamented the potential loss of editorial vitality which the decrease in the number of competing daily newspapers posed; while Emery, who primarily was concerned with the professional development of the press, claimed that as newspapers became big businesses, publishers revealed self-serving attitudes and were primarily concerned with protecting their own interests.

While these historians deplored the emphasis on profit by newspaper owners, Oswald Villard and other Progressive historians focused on the decline of liberalism in journalism. Villard deplored what he called the "crass materialism of the bulk of the American press" which resulted in the loss of a liberal, crusading spirit.[5] Considering the best newspapers to be those that led the fight for improved social conditions, he believed that newspapers too often deserted their leadership role in molding public opinion and instead appealed to public tastes in scandal, racial hatred, and social animosities – all because owners thought they could make the most money by appealing to public passions. Villard pictured Adolph Ochs' New York *Times*, for example, as racist and a promoter of discriminatory separation between blacks and whites. In *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen* (1923) he concluded that newspapers treasured profit more than principle. In *The Disappearing Daily* (1944), a revision of his earlier work, Villard argued that fighting crusades was more important than providing news, and he scorned the trend toward pictures, features, and a generally soft approach to news. Believing that the role of the press was to keep a wary eye on the government in order to protect the public, Villard argued that the newspaper that didn't champion enough causes was the "disappearing daily." Jonathan Daniels reflected a similar view in a work published two decades later, *They Will Be Heard: America's Crusading Newspaper Editors* (1965). While Daniels was not so concerned with business ownership, he did consider crusading to be the primary purpose of newspapers; and he viewed the best crusades as the ones which took the side of the average person against the wealthy, egalitarianism against elitism, and the rights of the people against a repressive class structure and the power of money. In a series of brief biographies, he praised journalists who had stood for liberal causes. Typical was his favorable treatment of William Allen White as an editor transformed from a reactionary Republican in the 1890s to a respectable social liberal with a tame vision of revolution by the 1930s.

In basing their evaluations of journalism on the ideology of the press, Progressive historians thus were quite critical of attitudes and ideas that did not measure up to their liberal ideal. Two biographies of Walter Lippmann by David Weingast and John Luskin typified works on the intellectual aspects of journalism. Many non-Progressive historians considered Lippmann to be

the leading philosophical, liberal luminary twentieth-century journalism produced. Weingast and Luskin pointed out his shortcomings. In the 1949 biography *Walter Lippmann*, Weingast found much to be admired in the journalist's writing style, but he criticized Lippmann for relying on "important figures in politics, diplomacy and business" for his ideas and for failing to draw enough of his views from "labor and farm people, and from leaders of minority groups." While Weingast looked favorably on Lippmann's "support of liberal theories of social reform," he concluded that Lippmann's "frequent disapproval of actual legislation" intended to implement reform largely offset such support.[6] Similarly, Luskin's biography *Lippmann, Liberty and the Press* (1972) pictured Lippmann not as a great champion of freedom of the press but as an indecisive observer who wavered on freedom. "Civility" rather than liberalism was the unifying feature of Lippmann's philosophy, Luskin concluded, and Lippmann himself was an elitist who had little trust in the common people. Such condemnation of the motives of journalists and business was applied in its fullest extent by Stewart Ewen in his 1976 work *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*. A radical historian, Ewen attempted to explain how capitalists in the 1920s used advertising to sell more goods and extend their control over laborers. Describing "a political ideology of consumption," by which the business class intended to prevent unrest in the laboring class, Ewen argued that advertisements "created a vision of social amelioration that depended on adherence to the authority of capitalistic enterprise."[7]

Developmental historians, whose works comprised the largest number among the schools of interpretation, were concerned – just as the Progressive historians had been – with a crusading spirit among journalists. Developmental historians, however, viewed journalism of the early twentieth century not in partisan or ideological terms. They believed, instead, that journalism history could best be explained in terms of the progress of professionalism. Thus, in effect, they adopted crusading and liberalism as professional standards; or, it might be said, they institutionalized the practices which Progressive historians had viewed in partisan, ideological terms. Developmental historians tended to select for study those journalists and practices which contributed to the advance of the profession, and thus their works tended to be laudatory, rather than condemnatory. Where, for example, Progressive historians had criticized Adolph Ochs for the conservative policies of the New York *Times*, Developmental historians attributed to Ochs a major positive influence on such professional improvements as an emphasis on news and the triumph of objectivity in news coverage.

Such was the approach defining the biographical studies by most Developmental historians. Thus, the theme of the individual as a talented journalist underlay the studies of reporters, columnists, and editors such as Carr Van Anda and Arthur Sulzberger of the New York *Times*, the New York *World's* foreign correspondent Irving S. Cobb, Harold Ross and A.J. Liebling of the *New Yorker*, Bernarr MacFadden of the New York *Graphic*, and the political reporter Dorothea Thompson. In this "talented journalists" line of biographies, one of the most highly acclaimed works was Ronald Steele's *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (1980). Winner of the Kappa

Tau Alpha research award, the book described Lippmann as one of the most influential journalists of all time, a writer whom America's presidents and other world leaders sought out, and the greatest journalist of his era.

While the Developmental biographies of "great men" told one aspect of the story of the progress of journalism, studies of the development of techniques provided another. Developmental historians selected for treatment such topics as technology, foreign correspondence, sports coverage, news wire services, ethics, objectivity, freedom of the press, criticism of the press, and education. Such studies were framed in terms of the development of professional standards and the improvement of professional practices. Developmental historians considered the growth of journalism education, for example, implicitly as evidence of the fact that journalism as a profession had gained respect. This concept provided the basis of biographies of such educators as Walter Williams and Frank Luther Mott of the University of Missouri and of histories of organizations such as the American Society of Journalism School Administrators. Simon Hochberger's short narrative "Fifty Years of Journalism Education" (1958) stated this view cogently. Journalism education, Hochberger wrote, contributed to the profession of journalism by turning out graduates to work in the field and by producing research and criticism. "In a half-century," he said, "journalism education in this country has grown from the fumblings of infancy and the uncertainties of childhood into an adolescence marked by a surprised recognition of increasing power. Now it is entering a period of maturity, a maturity notable, thus far, for introspective self-criticism and self-conscious striving toward improvement."[8] The improvement in journalism education, in Hochberger's view, thus mirrored the development of the journalism profession itself.

As Developmental historians constructed the story of the professional progress of journalism, most incorporated crusading as a standard practice. Usually, a tinge of liberalism colored their view. In Developmental history, however, crusading was considered not in partisan terms, as it had been by Progressive historians. Instead, Developmental historians implicitly considered the press as an institution whose purpose was to scrutinize the activities of other institutions such as government and big business in order to protect the public. In contrast to the Progressive historians, who believed that the role of the press was to serve as a political instrument, they perceived the press as a watchdog over government and other institutions in general. Thus, Developmental historians viewed the crusading function of the press not as a partisan and ideological tool but as part of its professional role.

The crusading interpretation of the Developmental school was presented most forcefully in a 1939 work by Silas Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders: A Neglected Story*. In the professional progress of the press, Bent argued, the chief element was crusading. The press, he said, is "our most powerful single agency of information, opinion, and reform"; and "since its beginning in this country," the press had made crusading one of its "immensely important," if not its most important, functions. Newspapers always had exercised a vital influence, Bent declared, "as champions of reforms, as defenders of individuals." The quality of newspapers, he believed, could be determined by their crusading spirit, whether in the cause of traffic safety, civic betterment,

freedom of expression, judicial practices, or any of a number of areas in the public interest. Likewise, newspaper editors and publishers could be considered deserters of the high professional calling of the press if they opposed causes such as the rights of labor or if they based their practices not on principle but on profit. Roy Howard, for example, who was E.W. Scripps' successor as manager of the Scripps-Howard chain, received little but scorn from Bent, for Howard "disavowed and repudiated" Scripps' policy of fighting for the rights of the public. Howard "lopped off less profitable [newspaper] properties here and there; and in some instances it was clear that these newspapers had lost ground because they had ceased to be good crusaders . . . . Howard's illiberalism and his bootlicking of the advertiser were making money in some quarters, but they were curtailing the circulation, the prestige, and the influence of the Scripps papers."[9]

Such an approach typified a score of biographies and newspaper histories. Developmental historians lauded such journalists as Scripps, Dallas *News* owner G.B. Dealey, New York *World* editor Herbert Bayard Swope, York (Pa.) *Gazette* publisher J.W. Gitt, and chain owner James W. Cox for crusades to improve civic, political, and social conditions. They praised newspapers ranging from the Kansas City *Star* and the Milwaukee *Journal* to small weeklies for the same reason. Typical of such works was George Turnbull's 1955 biography, *An Oregon Crusader,* a story of the editorial courage of George Putnam of the Salem *Capital Journal* in the 1920s. Putnam was an editor of principle and character who was unafraid to take on Oregon's powerful political groups and its reactionary forces. Even in the face of a timid, or at best indifferent, electorate and while most other editors looked the other way, Putnam did not hesitate to fight legal, political, and judicial corruption and racial and religious bigotry. He believed in uncensored news and in the need for an editorial page that attacked evils. As a result of his sticking to such high professional principles, he became an influential force in helping bring to fruition the causes that were right.

Putnam's efforts in the area of freedom of the press evoked special admiration. As most Developmental historians did, Turnbull placed considerable importance on journalists' taking libertarian stands on press freedom.[10] A number of historians noted advances in an expanding freedom of the press during the first half of the twentieth century, praising those journalists who aided the advance and condemning those who hindered it. In, for example, *Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press* (1981) Fred Friendly gave a favorable evaluation of the decision in the 1931 case *Near v. Minnesota* even though he believed the newspaper involved was a tasteless, anti-semitic scandal sheet. Friendly, a national television network news executive, placed primary emphasis on the fact that the decision expanded the principle of the liberty of the press. At issue in the case were authorities' attempts to silence Minneapolis' *Saturday Press* under the Minnesota Public Nuisance Law of 1925. Most respectable newspapers in the state did not oppose the legislation, and Friendly concluded that a large number of the state's journalists were not crusading idealists. Instead, newspapers in the state may have been taking bribes and extorting advertising in exchange for

running favorable stories or squelching exposes. Friendly, however, did praise Robert McCormick, owner of the Chicago *Tribune,* who took up the *Saturday Press* issue, championed the concept of freedom of the press in practice, and became the main figure in the case.

While Developmental historians such as Friendly thus normally attempted to detail the progress made in freedom of the press, they were especially critical when journalists did not support a broad libertarian approach to the First Amendment. Such an interpretation was presented most succinctly by John Lofton in *The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment* (1980). Although detailing the history of press freedom since the American Revolution, Lofton devoted most attention to developments after the 1917 case *Schenck v. United States.* Rather than finding, however, that the twentieth-century press had staunchly advocated freedom, he concluded that "except when their own freedom was discernibly at stake, established general circulation newspapers have tended to go along with efforts to suppress deviations from the prevailing political and social orthodoxies of their time and place rather than to support the right to dissent."[11]

A departure from the liberal interpretation of Progressive and Developmental historians came from the Business/Neo-conservative school of historians beginning in the 1920s. Their re-interpretation was most evident in a number of biographies of media owners. Progressive historians had portrayed owners as selfish, conservative profiteers. Neo-conservative historians found that owners often had made lasting, constructive contributions to journalism, and that they symbolized some of the fundamental positive aspects of the American character. Whereas Progressive historians had viewed most owners with suspicion, Neo-conservative historians described them as individuals of high principle.

Although the appellation "Neo-conservative" may be applied appropriately to this school, it also may be thought of as a "business history" school. Following the leadership of scholars in the prestigious Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in the 1920s, business historians developed their own approaches to explain American industrial history. Those historians who studied the media argued that owners were not predatory profit seekers but farsighted, thoughtful entrepreneurs who made considerable contributions to American journalism. Owners' goals were not simply to accumulate money but to bring new efficient methods of management to the newspaper industry and in the process to serve better the information needs of the American public. Neo-conservative/business historians also rejected the Progressive critique of media owners as enemies of democracy and freedom. They argued instead that owners, by providing efficiency and larger operations, gave America the best news media system in the world and actually contributed to greater democracy and freedom.

Such an approach provided the basis for one of the earliest studies of Ochs, a 1926 article by Benjamin Stolberg entitled "The Man Behind the Times." Stolberg described Ochs as a daring, courageous, honorable American who made the *Times* successful through faith in the "ordinary virtues," hard work, common sense, self-reliance, and honesty. The *Times'* owner, believing journalism's first obligation was to inform the public, refused to be influenced

by advertisers and maintained a low editorial profile. In emphasizing news, rather than opinion, Ochs adapted the *Times* to conditions of his era, while he also "caught the idea of mass production at just the right time in the New York newspaper field." Stolberg thus viewed Ochs not as a reactionary businessman, as Progressives had painted him, but as a leader in journalistic improvements and as a newspaper owner of highest ideals.[12]

In the fullest biography of Ochs, *An Honorable Titan* (1946), Gerald Johnson described him in almost identical terms, while incorporating a strong Developmental flavor into the interpretation. Ochs, Johnson said, was one of the financial titans of the late 1800s who had so much to do with making industrial America what it is. Unlike many of the industrialists who were materialists and rogues, however, Ochs was an honorable businessman committed to the ideal of the newspaper as a public institution: impersonal, reliable, responsible, and devoted primarily to serving the public with news. Ochs' journalistic career exemplified principle, and the history of the New York *Times* under his direction provided a story of advancing journalism. Ochs broke with the personal journalism of the past, while shunning the sensational techniques of Pulitzer and Hearst. He thus laid the essentials of the foundation of modern journalism, and as the *Times* quickly acquired a reputation for excellence, its owner gained a reputation for honor, character, and integrity.

Negley Cochran's *E. W. Scripps* (1933) typified the Business school's view, presenting the newspaper chain owner as "a great journalist, a profound philosopher, and at once a great master and a great public servant."[13] Even though Scripps was concerned with the business operation of his newspapers, he was just as interested in their content; and he deserved credit, according to Cochran, for America's development of a politically independent press. While Scripps had been viewed favorably even by Progressive historians as a liberal newspaper owner, Samuel Williamson's biography *Imprint of a Publisher: The Story of Frank Gannett and His Newspapers* (1948) painted a favorable picture of a conservative businessman who had high standards for the news and editorial operations of his papers. Nothing, according to Williamson, so inspired Gannett as a business opportunity, and the story of his career was one of how he bought, merged, and controlled newspapers. Yet for all his conservatism and his attention to the business operation of his twenty-one newspapers, Gannett prided himself on not dictating editorial policies, and he created a model for editorial independence and quality journalism on chain-owned newspapers.

Traditionally, historians had portrayed business owners as selfish, conservative profiteers. The argument that owners often had made lasting, constructive contributions to journalism was central to the Business school's interpretation. Contrary to the view of the Progressive school, Business historians denied that owners were reactionary simply because their newspapers made money. This change in atttitude toward the role of the press as a business investment was manifest in biographies of two leading newspaper publishers, Ira Copley and Gardner Cowles. In *The Gold Watch, A Personal History of the Newspaper Copleys* (1964) Walter Swanson painted a favorable picture of Copley as one of the first twentieth-century

businessmen to see that the newspaper was a business that could make a profit. Rather than condemning Copley, Swanson pointed out frankly and without apology that before Copley started building his newspaper chain he had been quite successful at making money in gas and electricity utilities. In the 1978 biography *Harvey Ingham and Gardner Cowles, Sr.: Things Don't Just Happen,* George Mills took a similar approach to analyzing the financial success of Ingham and Cowles with the Des Moines (Iowa) *Register.* The news and editorial quality for which the *Register* "has become known," wrote Mills, "was the consequence of foresighted business practices begun by the elder Cowles and continued by his sons John and Gardner Jr." Cowles, for example, "shrewdly used Iowa's railroad network to achieve the *Register's* statewide circulation and championed highway improvement programs with that same circulation problem in mind." At the same time, by using imaginative circulation techniques and wooing advertisers, he built up the paper's advertising and circulation revenues. Although noting that Cowles' principles sometimes influenced his business practices, Mills did not suggest that any incongruity existed between good journalism and profitable newspapers. Indeed, he reasoned that the two worked hand-in-hand.

Implicit in the Business/Neo-conservative interpretation was the belief that the liberal Progressive view of American political history was inappropriate. Few Business historians, however, attempted to provide a direct refutation of liberal ideology. One to do so was Finis Farr. In *Fair Enough: The Life of Westbrook Pegler* (1975), Farr praised Pegler, a conservative national columnist after World War I, for the quality of his writing style and argued that the only reason Pegler had not been given the acclaim accorded such liberal columnists as Heywood Broun was his conservatism. Had Pegler written on the political and social left rather than the right, Farr argued, he would have been more highly regarded by historians.

A fourth approach to interpreting American journalism in the first half of the twentieth century came from the Cultural school of historians beginning in the 1930s. While many of these historians incorporated into their writings concepts of both professional development and ideology, their studies were characterized more obviously by a concern for the influence of social, political, and economic conditions on the press. Their most evident reinterpretation of the press of the early twentieth century was their acceptance of the increased emphasis on the media as business institutions. Rather than criticizing the spread of the profit motive and the concept of the press as a business (as Progressive and many Developmental historians had done) or attributing them to the high character and business acumen of owners (as Business historians had done), Cultural historians considered the changes as a fact of economic life in an industrialized, commercialized nation. They viewed the changes as a natural result of the social and economic environment.

Works in the early 1930s by two prominent journalism educators, Ralph D. Casey and Willard G. Bleyer, presaged the change in historical attitudes. In surveying literature on journalism being published, Casey concluded in a 1931 study that more and more articles were being devoted to business management, while the number of articles on "editorial methods" was not

increasing.[14] Bleyer, in surveying the journalism profession in 1933, concluded that the year had demonstrated "the fact that the fortunes of newspapers as private business enterprises are inextricably bound up with the success or failure of modern capitalism."[15] The important historiographical point to note is that neither Casey nor Bleyer criticized the change toward the growth of newspapers as profit-oriented businesses. During the next twenty-five years, a number of books and articles appeared detailing several press characteristics directly related to business developments: newspaper feature syndicates, daily newspaper chains, monopoly in the newspaper field, and circulation figures for daily papers, for example. Cultural historians explained these characteristics by such factors as normal practices in business operations, competitive conditions of the marketplace, growth of cities, geographical influences, economic depression, war conditions, and personal income of individual Americans.

The most extensive attempt to provide a cultural explanation of the twentieth-century press was made by Sidney Kobre in his 1959 work *Modern American Journalism*. Emphasizing the development of the modern press in terms of press interaction with its environment, Kobre (who used the word "sociological," rather than by the broader "cultural," to describe his historical approach) believed that "gigantic forces" including population changes and growth, industrialization, labor organization, and a spirit of social reform transformed America in the first half of the twentieth century and thus drastically altered the nation's press. As the press mirrored the changes in economics and society, it changed to conform to new conditions. Accordingly, there developed a greater emphasis on interpretive journalism and column writing to explain a complex society to readers. Journalism schools and associations of journalists grew in importance, he reasoned, as the profession grew more sophisticated. Technological developments in radio and television altered traditional journalistic practices. Because of rising costs of labor and newsprint, publishers employed newspaper consolidations and chain ownership to save money and to buy production material on a large scale, mirroring similar developments in such other businesses as grocery store chains. Unlike most Progressive and liberal Developmental historians, Kobre thus explained the business growth of the press as going hand in hand with the tremendous changes in industrial, social, and economic conditions of the twentieth century. While the business growth frequently was accomplished in very dynamic ways, Kobre concluded that changes in the press resulted naturally from the press' social and economic environment.[16]

On a more limited scale, various Cultural historians examined a range of content characteristics of the press in relation to the changes in the national environment during the first half of the twentieth century. They usually assumed that journalistic practices and decisions were determined by cultural factors and that press content simply mirrored the interests of the reading public. Sherilyn Cox Bennion, for example, explained the decline of muckraking, reform-oriented material in mass-circulation magazines of the 1920s from such an outlook. The magazines did not emphasize reform because their readers did not want to hear about reform. With World War I, changes in society had occurred and magazines after the war simply reflected

the interests of the public – whereas the muckraking journalists prior to the war had been instrumental in molding opinion.[17] Similarly, John Brazil explained the content of tabloid newspapers in 1920s as a result of changes in Americans' attitudes. It was such a change that accounted for the tabloids' attempt to appeal to the masses and to compete with cheap literature and movies by emphasizing sensational murders and murder trials. Brazil believed that the attention the press gave to such events reflected specifically a change in American beliefs about individualism.[18]

For historians of the press of the early twentieth century, the paramount question has been what determined the nature of the press. Progressive historians believed a class conflict between the rich and the masses was the essential factor, with wealthy owners of the press too often subverting the press for their own benefit. Neo-conservative historians argued to the contrary: that owners were men of high principle who had made major contributions to the quality of the press. Developmental historians tended to view changes in the press as a part of the natural progress of journalism, while Cultural historians reasoned that the nature of the press at any particular time was determined primarily by its environment.

The result of such varied evaluation may be confusion among many students of journalism history, who tend to want historical "facts" narrated without a hint that they can be open to differing explanations. Actually, while the varying interpretations explored in this article may make it seem that the study of media history has been full of diverse approaches, the range of interpretations is fairly limited. Most historians tend to agree on the nature of professionalism and the media as big business, and little new is offered by the majority of historical works. At least part of the reason for such narrowness of perspectives has been the fact that mass media historians have shown little awareness of historical interpretation.[19] Indeed, most historians have seemed unaware that they were writing implicitly within a certain interpretation. Without such awareness, historians tend to fall into accepted views without truly realizing what their points of view are, and most studies of mass media history wind up as mere chronicling of episodes (and, it may be said, often insignificant ones) rather than as substantial or useful insights into history. On the other hand, an understanding of historical interpretation gives the historian an appreciation of viewpoint and concepts, which frequently leads the historian to analyze critically the validity of such approaches. It is in such a critical attitude that historians are most likely to develop challenging new insights into the history of the mass media, and it is diversity of insights that gives excitement to the study of history.

NOTES

[1]In other studies I have dealt with historical works on these topics. Thus, I have omitted a discussion of them in this article.

[2]George Seldes, *Freedom of the Press* (Indianapolis, 1935).

[3]Robert Duffus, "Mr. Munsey," *American Mercury* (July 1924).

[4]Raymond B. Nixon, "Concentration and Absenteeism in Daily Newspaper Ownership," *Journalism Quarterly*, 22 (June 1945), 97-114.

[5]Oswald Villard, *The Disappearing Daily: Chapters in American Newspaper Evolution*

(New York, 1944).

[6]David Weingast, *Walter Lippmann* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1949).

[7]Stewart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness* (New York, 1976), 109.

[8]Simon Hochberger, "Fifty Years of Journalism Education," *Journalism Educator*, 13: 2 (1958). 2-5 and 24.

[9]Silas Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders* (Freeport, N. Y., 1939), 80.

[10]See Turnbull's *An Oregon Editor's Battle for Freedom of the Press* (Portland, 1952).

[11]Lofton, *The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment* (Columbia, S. C., 1980).

[12]Benjamin Stolberg, "The Man Behind the Times," *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1926).

[13]Negley Cochran, *E. W. Scripps* (New York, 1933).

[14]Ralph D. Casey, "The Present Status of Journalistic Literature," *Journalism Quarterly*, 8 (1931), 125-136.

[15]Willard G. Bleyer, "Journalism in the United States: 1933," *Journalism Quarterly*, 10 (1933), 296-301.

[16]Sidney Kobre, *Modern American Journalism* (Tallahassee, 1959).

[17]Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Reform Agitation in the American Periodical Press, 1920-1929," *Journalism Quarterly*, 48 (1971), 652-659 and 713.

[18]John Brazil, "Murder Trials, Murder, and Twenties America," *American Quarterly*, 163-184.

[19]A number of students have accepted James Carey's claim that a "whig interpretation" has "exclusively dominated" journalism history ("The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History*, 1 (1974), 3). A few others have accepted Joe McKerns' assertion that "the Progressive interpretation . . . has dominated the field" ("The Limits of Progressive Journalism History," *Journalism History*, 4 (1977), 88). While McKerns' analysis is sounder than Carey's, the Progressive interpretation has accounted for only a fraction of the historical works on American journalism. The Whig interpretation was used, in its purest sense, only in a small number of historical works written in the nineteenth century.

The Advertisers' War to Verify Newspaper Circulation, 1870-1914

By Ted Curtis Smythe

The 1870s mark the fitful start of the "open contract" period in the American advertising agency business, a period when the advertising agency became unalterably identified with the cause of the advertiser rather than that of the newspaper or magazine publisher. During the next forty-four years, until the creation of the Audit Bureau of Circulations in 1914, both advertiser and advertising agent worked together to force publishers to provide circulation figures, then to provide *accurate* and *meaningful* circulation figures. With less consistency, advertiser and agent also sought equitable advertising rates from publishers. In the main, they succeeded in getting both accurate, meaningful circulation and equitable advertising rates by the end of the period.

This study deals with the reasons why they succeeded in their confrontation with newspaper publishers. The publishers first fought advertiser pressure and then responded to the realities of modern journalism by creating advertising managers and staffs of solicitors. But to the publishers' surprise, they found that the people who filled these new specialized business functions forged a coalition with advertiser and agent against the interests of the publisher. This study also suggests that one of the major contributions of the New Journalism was its wholehearted accommodation to the legitimate business needs of advertisers. The overwhelming financial success of those newspapers practicing the New Journalism business concepts showed other publishers how they, too, could reap the same benefits by meeting the legitimate needs of advertiser and agent.

Newspaper Directories, Trade Periodicals, and Circulation

The advertising agent, who had started as a newspaper representative in the 1840s, had over the years become independent of publisher and advertiser, until the development of the "open contract" during the 1870s forged

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a new but permanent relationship between agent and advertiser. One committee of editors charged to look into the advertising agency business reported in 1870 that "advertising agencies, as they exist at present, are a curse to our craft. . . . They do not represent us or work for our interests. Their only object is the putting of money in their own pockets. They compete for business, and underbid each other to our loss." Some agents were forthright in stating whom they supported. In 1875, Bates & Locke agency said " . . . we don't pretend to be the agents of the newspapers, in any sense, which requires us to urge their claims at all."[1]

Several other changes in business conditions placed enormous pressure on newspaper publishers. George P. Rowell established *The American Newspaper Directory*, the first successful newspaper directory in the United States in 1869, twenty-five years after the English had done so. Year after year he published specific information about newspapers, their locations, editors and publishers, and publication data, such as evening, daily, or weekly. More important to the publisher, he listed the circulation of newspapers: circulation figures based upon publisher sworn statement, publisher statements, or guesswork. Numerous publishers criticized Rowell for his audacity.[2]

Despite opposition from publishers, Rowell later attempted to verify the circulation for a select group of newspapers. He guaranteed circulation for a list of newspapers that met certain criteria and offered to pay $100 reward if the stated circulation were proved incorrect. He began this guarantee in 1888. He paid in 1888, 1889, and then with mounting frequency in the succeeding years until he finally called a halt to the guarantee in 1897, when he claimed that "between three and four thousand dollars had been paid out in forfeits, because nine years of experiment had made it plain that newspaper publishers were not disposed to countenance the Directory in its efforts and were positively opposed to them." Three years later Rowell renewed the pledge, but he required the newspaper's certified statement of circulation to be "accompanied by a deposit of one hundred dollars in actual cash, to be held indefinitely by the Directory . . . until . . . successfully assailed."[3] F.W. Ayer also attempted to secure accurate circulation reports, but never emulated Rowell's guarantee.

While such a method of verifying circulation could never be satisfactory, it still had an important impact on publishers and advertisers. Upon Rowell's retirement in 1905, several speakers praised him for his contribution to the development of the advertising agency business. Frank B. Noyes, president of the Associated Press and editor and publisher of the Chicago *Record-Herald*, reprised the advertising situation when the *Directory* was founded. A few publishers provided accurate figures, he said, but many others "did not regard it as compulsory nor in accord with their interests to make known the amount of their circulation." Rowell, through his *Directory* and through *Printer's Ink*, had fought for many years for honest circulation statements from newspapers. Noyes explained Rowell's impact:

> Week by week, month by month and year by year he has pilloried the circulation liar relentlessly, treating him exactly as a swindler should be treated.

> By this course, made effective only by the merciless manner in which it was pursued, a revolution has been wrought in the ethics of circulation statements, and, speaking broadly, the circulation statement of to-day is as essentially honest as are the representations made by the seller in other business enterprises.[4]

Noyes was incorrect, unless, of course, his comparison meant that other businesses were dishonest, for the circulation statement of the average newspaper in 1905 still was far from honest. Nevertheless, Rowell's contributions did deserve Noyes' praise.

Rowell was not the only agent to provide circulation figures over the years, but apparently no one tried to guarantee circulation as he had done. In fact, in the early years of his directory, no one even gave circulation figures. In addition to publishers, who were aggrieved at the low circulation he sometimes credited them, competitors who had established their own directories knocked the circulation idea. In 1870 S.M. Pettengill published *The Advertiser's Handbook*, one of many such directories to be offered in the next two decades. Pettengill did not provide circulation figures. In fact, he disavowed them, writing that he had "not attempted to state the circulation of the different journals, for what seemed to [the publishers of the directory] good and sufficient reasons. It may be sufficient to state that the exact circulation of a newspaper is not easily ascertained unless its publisher chooses to furnish it." Since the honest publisher's figures would be accurate and would be compared with those of dishonest publishers who would exaggerate their figures, Pettengill did "not care to give a seeming indorsement [sic] to such exaggerations, and therefore omit[ted] circulations altogether, . . . " To cover his reputation as a competent advertising agent, Pettengill claimed he would give circulation figures to "persons applying" for them.[5] How the circulation figures could be any more accurate when privately given was never explained. Nevertheless, Pettengill's promise to give circulation figures privately shows the desire of the advertiser to know what he was getting for his money. This "exclusive" information, by the way, gave the advertiser a reason for going to the agent. Rowell was providing the advertiser with information only the agent was "supposed" to know. It is no surprise that agents rejected Rowell's technique.

The directories were supplemented with nascent trade journals. It was during the late 1860s that Rowell began his house journal, *Advertiser's Gazette*. Issued quarterly, it was a forerunner of *Printer's Ink*. Other advertising agents followed with their own house organs, such as Bates & Locke's *Advertiser's Bulletin*. Most of these publications did not carry advertising in the early years; they were used to promote both the agencies that issued them and advertising in general. Through the years they carried articles on how to get the best rates and on the need for publishers to provide accurate circulation figures.[6]

Structural Changes in the Business Office

Publishers knew the old way of running a newspaper was changing. In

1879, advertising already constituted 49.2 percent of newspaper income. In other words, subscribers, who had been the backbone of support for the paper, were barely providing 50 percent of the income[7] – this when newspapers sold for three, four, and five cents a copy daily. The coalition between advertising agent and advertiser was not lost on publishers and entrepreneurs who responded to the changing conditions.

The business office of the newspaper already was undergoing change. Since the advertising function had increased in scope and importance, advertising managers were appointed to manage the advertising solicitors (salesmen) who already were working in many offices. And advertising, which had been "farmed out" to agents, by some newspapers, was recaptured. This advertising function was split between two groups: external and internal.

One of the effects of the open contract was to split the advertising agency business into two functions: the agent who served the advertiser and the special representative who served the publisher, performing the function that agents once had undertaken themselves. In 1875 the "first" special representative for out-of-town newspapers arrived in New York City. He was L.H. Crall, a Cincinnatian who represented newspapers from various cities outside New York City. Two other representatives from Cincinnati soon joined him. These special representatives were only the vanguard. Publishers responded to their changing relationship with the advertising agent by supporting the special representative.[8]

These new agents almost immediately played an important role in gathering advertising for the group of newspapers each represented. For the next twenty years these special agents, who at first received only commissions, made great sums of money. Finally, publishers pulled the plug on commissions and put men on salary and expenses.[9]

The advertising manager, as distinct from the business manager, usually is considered a development of the 1890s. The demands on the position, the amount of advertising being generated, and the growth of solicitors on newspapers, meant the necessary development of this position. In several Midwest newspapers the advertising manager was clearly identified in the 1870s and early 1880s. William H. Brearly was advertising manager of the Detroit *News* in the 1870s and 1880s. Billy Steiger was Joseph Pulitzer's advertising manager on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in the late 1870s. Milton McRae was advertising manager of the Cincinnati *Post* in 1883. The same position developed on the East Coast. Fred MacDonald, advertising manager for the Boston *Globe* in the late 1880s, was trained in that field on the Boston *Herald* beginning in 1879. When the American Newspaper Publishers Association was formed in 1887, most of the founders were business managers or advertising managers. Brearly was the catalyst in the formation of the ANPA. The primary purpose of the ANPA in its founding years was to find a way to deal with advertising agencies.[10]

In any case, by 1890 most metropolitan newspapers had restructured their business operations so as to seek and attract advertising.

Newspaper Business Practices

In the 1870s and 1880s, most publishers were cavalier in their handling of

circulation. A few continued to keep circulation figures secret, even after it was clear that advertisers needed, wanted, and deserved the information. The Boston *Journal* did not publicize its circulation until the 1890s. The Baltimore *Sun* did not do so until 1908. These were exceptions, however. Most publishers were willing to publicize their circulation – or some fantasy of it – by the 1890s.

Getting publishers to provide circulation figures was a first step, but the advertiser found that it was not the answer to his needs because too many publishers lied about their circulation. One writer claimed that the New York *World* filed a "fictitious return" to the tax assessor in the late 1860s which claimed 45,000 circulation when, according to the writer, the real circulation was closer to 15,000 or 16,000. The editor of *The Journalist* claimed in 1884 that even Dana's *Sun* lied about its circulation. He said that Isaac England, who was business manager of the paper, added 30,000 circulation to the *Sun*'s total as it began to rise. Later, England found he could not subtract that figure, even when he wanted to. In 1883-84, when the paper's circulation quickly declined about 20,000 subscribers, England was unable to drop the fictitious figure. Jason Rogers claims the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* started its press run indicators at 25,000 – and got caught. Even Pulitzer, who made it a part of his new journalism to publish reasonably accurate circulation for the New York *World*, earlier had waffled when telling advertisers about circulation for his St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.[11]

In the 1890s the problem grew worse because more newspapers were providing circulation figures and the competition was fierce. False figures deluded advertisers and prospective owners. Allen N. Drake was one advertiser who did not trust newspaper figures. He investigated many circulation claims and found discrepancies. He reported that one newspaper's city circulation was accurate, but when he spot-checked shippings to surburban areas he found that one newsboy got a "package marked on the outside 168 [while] inside the wrapper was another number for the use of the newsboy, namely, 68." Following up the other packages, he found the same thing: deliberate falsification of circulation figures. A humorous exchange took place at the annual meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in 1890 when someone in the audience asked Charles W. Knapp of the St. Louis *Republic* how the truthful publisher could compete with the liar. Knapp said: "I think the liar ought to respond to that." The president of the ANPA said, with tongue in cheek, "I believe there are no such papers in the Association." Then the secretary of the association chimed in, "I don't think it is a matter that concerns this Association. The liars are all outside – all of us tell the truth." Of course, if that were true, ANPA members were *most* affected by the liar! But circulation inflation was not humorous to the advertiser. The advertising manager for United Drug Co. of Boston told a group of Michigan publishers and editors that those who did not provide accurate circulation figures were litle more than burglars. The publisher who "charges . . . for 5,000 circulation when he only has 3,000 is little better than he who robs your safe of so much cash."[12]

The situation was so bad that even prospective owners of newspapers were hoodwinked. When Isaac Stern went to Providence, Rhode Island, as a

general manager with an option to buy the *News*, he found the press run was only 1,500 while the claimed circulation was 15,000. Adolph Ochs found after he had bought the New York *Times* that the paper had a press run of 19,000 but sales of only 9,000; 10,000 copies were returned from dealers each day.[13]

Even when publishers told the truth, the *meaning* of circulation was not defined. William H. Boyenton, the historian of the Audit Bureau of Circulations, outlined the issue:

> . . . the concepts of circulation were vague and variable. To the strict constructionist, circulation was copies sold at the regular price; to the liberal constructionist, circulation might be press run, including copies given away, copies sold at large discounts and even copies never placed in reader's hands. Furthermore, the total circulation by publishers included all subscriptions and single copy sales regardless of channels, prices and methods or status of payment.[14]

Boyenton found that most publishers, when they finally decided to publicize their circulation, kept the meaning of the figures to themselves. He concluded that "advertisers, expending millions of dollars, were virtually blindfolded in attempts at economic promotion of their wares."[14]

Fixed Space Rates

Advertisers and their agents also waged a war to get the lowest possible rates. Time and again publishers and business managers complained of advertiser pressure. But it was equally true that if advertisers could not get a price lower than others, they at least wanted equity. One advertising manager told Michigan publishers that they should "stick to" their rates. "I never fail to receive some acceptances of an offer upon a rate of a half-cent a line per thousand circulation," he lectured the publishers. That was a point publishers had great difficulty understanding or resolving.[15]

The remedy to advertiser pressure lay in establishing and adhering to fair rates based upon known and verified circulation. Some newspapers had such flexible rates that even the advertising solicitors could not keep them straight. Jason Rogers tells of the flexible rates at the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* just before the turn of the century. Rogers was an advertising solicitor for the paper. To keep track of the rates he prepared "an indexed pocket booklet" to review before he called upon an advertiser. Weekday rates varied from five to thirty cents a line; Sunday from eight to forty cents. "The Fair got a secret rebate of 50 per cent.," Rogers said, while "Siegel Cooper got a rebate of 25 per cent., Mandel Bros., Schlessinger & and Mayer a rebate of 6 cents per line, . . . " Only one firm paid the full rate of sixteen cents. Advertisers were angered when they found they were not getting the lowest rates, as they had been promised. At least one store pulled its advertising. The result of such machinations was that the advertiser was "never sure that he [was] getting the lowest rate and [he was] ever seeking for something lower." Rogers waxed

lyrical in assessing the effects of such practices: "In such a cesspool of false pretense and shallow claim nothing large could find root or grow."[16] Many publishers refused to blame the advertising agent for seeking special rates or special position for his ads; instead they blamed those publishers who would not adhere to their stated rates.[17]

Classified ad rates per agate line were extraordinarily inconsistent and complicated. The New York *Sun*'s rate card, effective August 1, 1905, listed fifty-one classifications with rates varying from fifteen cents a line on a yearly contract for railroad or steamboat timetables to seventy-five cents a line for business notices which preceded the deaths notices. Advertisers considered these variable rates proof that publishers did not know or care what space cost, that rates were based upon the ability of the advertiser to pay.[18]

Generally, business management was so inefficient during most of this period that many publishers did not even know what white space cost them or, for that matter, who their audience really was. *Fourth Estate* editorialized in 1894 (following the panic of 1893): "It has been said, and with some degree of truth, that newspapers are as a class the poorest managed of any business institution." Thus, advertiser demands for fixed rates, tied as they were with verified, or at least stated circulation, pressured publishers to consider appropriate costs and charges.[19]

Not all papers were poorly managed, of course. The rapidly developing newspapers of the New Journalism followed reasonably enlightened business practices. The Boston *Globe* stuck to its rates. The Chicago *Daily News* from its inception was a fixed rate newspaper, with rates based upon stated circulation. Jason Rogers, who had had to compete against the *Daily News* as a solicitor for the *Inter-Ocean*, once said that if he had his "life to live over again in the newspaper business the first rule [he] would adopt would be that of *The Chicago Daily News*, to sell or give position to no one under any circumstances, and to stick to it as *The News* has done." In New York City as early as 1873 the evening *Daily News* had

> . . . contracted for advertising on these terms: "Three (3) cents per line for every (10) ten thousand of our circulation. Every bill when presented to be accompanied with the sworn affidavit of the pressman who prints the paper, the clerk who delivers the paper, and the cashier who receives the money. No paper to be counted as circulation except those that are actually sold and paid for. Believing this to be the most fair and equitable plan ever offered to advertisers, we make the proposition."[20]

How well the *Daily News* adhered to this proposition is not known, but the striking originality of the plan was far ahead of New York practices of that day and, indeed, of the next two decades. The New York papers were notorious for giving or selling position anywhere on the page. Scott of the Chicago *Herald* lambasted the New York papers during one ANPA convention, suggesting that those papers were the standard for the country, but so far as advertising was concerned, they were a bad standard. Brearly, who had moved to the Detroit *Journal*, named the New York *Tribune* and the

World as papers that printed a five-inch advertisement at the top of a news page without placing any other advertisement within two or three columns of it. This surrounded the ad with news copy, something most advertisers wanted. It was impossible to make up a newspaper by giving ads preferred position. Brearly wanted the business managers of those papers to attend the ANPA conventions to "answer for their sins, for I believe it is not only their own sins but the sins of the country they are carrying with them," which demoralize the newspaper field, because advertisers used the New York papers to whip other publishers into line.[21]

Beginning in 1883, Pulitzer made the New York *World* known for its circulation and its fixed rates. But because advertising rates were a means of competition with the *Sun* and the *Herald*, his advertising manager kept the paper's rates lower than other newspapers until he could build a large volume of advertising. Pulitzer had recognized in St. Louis that advertising followed *both* circulation and advertising. That is, large newspaper circulations attracted advertising; large amounts of advertising attracted more advertising, because of competition and because advertisers believed large amounts of advertising showed how effective the newspaper was in delivering sales. One writer, examining a Sunday edition of the Omaha *Herald* in 1887, concluded that its forty-eight pages, two-thirds of them devoted to advertising, "must be a veritable bonanza" if the publisher got "anything like respectable rates for advertising." But he did not. Rates were so low that one commentator felt "publishers fairly gave away their space . . . " Such "benevolence" had the positive effect of helping merchants discover "the pulling power of real advertising." The Los Angeles *Times* built its great advertising base before 1900 with cheap advertising rates. In New York, however, rates were high, until Pulitzer arrived, and merchants could not afford large space advertising.[22]

It should not be construed from the above that advertising agents and advertisers were without fault themselves. Even when publishers provided single rate cards and known circulation, advertising buyers attempted to chisel on volume discounts. Some advertising agents would sign a contract for the volume rate, perhaps nine cents a line for 10,000 lines, knowing full well that they would not use more than 5,000 lines. The client paid them at eleven cents a line, which might be the 5,000-line rate according to the rate card. Such agents made a great deal of money *if* the newspaper did not charge them for being short in their use of space. And many newspapers did not "short rate" because they wanted the advertising agent's business in the future. Despite such practices, Jason Rogers argued that when agents found their efforts to break down rates were futile, they "prefer[red] to do business where they [were] confident they [were] buying advertising space as cheaply as any one else for a like volume in similar circumstances." This concept of equity was a lesson most publishers had to learn. They learned it only after advertisers and agents "forced" the concept upon them.[23]

The Trojan Horse

What the publisher did not expect was that the newspaper representative or

advertising solicitor he hired to bring in advertising would put pressure on the business office to change its practices to meet the needs of the advertiser. Yet, in retrospect, no other result could have been expected. The solicitor knew that his income and success depended upon his ability to provide advertiser and advertising agent with the information they needed to place advertising with his publication. Don C. Seitz, business manager of the New York *World*, warned of this result. He claimed that the solicitor "is always more eager to promote the interest of the advertiser than the convenience or profit of the [business] office." Hamilton Holt argued that the solicitor "puts himself under obligations to the advertiser" because he is a supplicant, asking for advertising. Some solicitors or special agents sold space by gathering special information for the advertiser, information many publishers were loath to reveal. Two "specials" who were especially helpful to advertisers were Dan Carroll and John Woodward, both active in New York in the 1890s. Both representatives provided advertisers with "masses of statistical data carefully arranged for instant reference," Rogers wrote. This data gave the advertiser what he needed to plan campaigns. "It was information and service more quickly obtainable and more dependable than anything he [the advertiser] had been able to secure at any price regardless of the element of time," Rogers concluded.[24]

The newspaper publisher did not recognize it immediately, but in the advertiser's war for verified circulation the publisher had installed a Trojan Horse in the business office – one who acknowledged the legitimate business needs of the advertiser and wanted to meet those needs in order to sell space. By 1905 Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, advertising agents and authors of advertising texts, could claim that "Every newspaper and every magazine has one or more" advertising solicitors. That was hyperbole, but it was true that only a few newspapers had been slow in hiring solicitors. The New York *Herald* was slow in that it had employed its first solicitor in 1883. The Baltimore *Sun* was so slow it hired its first solicitor in 1905 and called him a "rate demonstrator." The *Sun* hired other solicitors within a year and identified them as such. The Chicago *Tribune* under Joseph Medill solicited only want ads. General advertising solicitors evidently were not hired until Medill McCormick reorganized the advertising and business departments in 1907. The solicitors for the *Sun* and the *Tribune* prove Seitz's point about solicitors serving the advertiser rather than the office. In 1906, H.L. Mencken, Sunday editor of the *Sun*, had wanted to know *privately* how well he was doing. He was refused the figures! Two years later the *Sun*'s owners acquiesced to the business manager's request to *publish* the circulation because, the manager claimed, to do so "would result in more revenue to the paper . . . " The board "Resolved, That the circulation of The SUN may be told to advertisers at the discretion of the manager." The solicitors and the business manager needed the information to sell space. The Trojan Horse solicitors could publicize circulation even though Mencken the Sunday editor could not find it out for his own use. The same thing happened at the Chicago *Tribune*. Within a few years of hiring solicitors, the *Tribune* issued *Winning a Great Market on Facts*, a compendium of statistical data on Census Zone 7, the *Tribune*'s market, including the paper's distribution in that market. The

advertising manager was Eugene Parsons. He provided advertisers with the information they needed to use the *Tribune*. Unlike the wooden horse built by Greeks to get into Troy, publishers constructed their own Trojan Horse within the citadel's gates, enabling advertisers to breach the walls.[25]

Circulation Wars

In response to advertiser demands for circulation, many publishers went to great expense to build that circulation, even losing money in the process. Their intent was to make up the difference with advertising revenues.

In the 1880s publishers dropped prices from three and four cents a copy to two cents, and again in the 1890s they cut prices to one cent. The price war was caused by competition, even though cheaper newsprint and advertising patronage made the war possible.

Both New York City and Chicago were major centers of price competition. Pulitzer arrived in New York in 1883 and offered readers an eight-page paper for two cents. The *Sun* offered only four pages for the same price. Other major newspapers reduced their prices. The *Tribune* dropped to two cents and was immediately followed by the *Herald*; the *Times* dropped to three cents. The evening *Daily News* and the *Morning Journal* already sold for one cent. A decade later several of the morning and evening newspapers in New York would be issued at one cent each, following William Randolph Hearst's invasion of the newspaper field. In Chicago, the most important papers followed the *Times* when it cut its price from five cents to three cents in 1889, and then again to two cents. The evening *Daily News* sold at two cents all during this period. All of the morning newspapers cut their prices to one cent in 1895 because of the spectacular success of the Chicago *Record*, which had dropped to one cent and triggered a dramatic circulation increase. Philadelphia and Boston also had price wars.[26]

Most of the West Coast seemed immune to such warfare. San Francisco did not have a price war even during Hearst's gargantuan efforts in building the *Examiner*. Single copy prices remained at five cents in San Francisco and Los Angeles throughout the period. Portland, however, went through a price war when the *Oregonian* dropped to two cents.[27]

Price wars greatly affected the newspaper. Income from subscriptions and street sales declined, forcing publishers to rely more and more upon advertising to make up the difference. From 1879 to 1914 advertising increased from 49.2 percent to 65 percent of total income. Publishers were able to attract more readers by selling papers at a loss. More circulation meant more advertising income. Such income was to make up for the circulation loss and provide a profit.[28]

Most publishers committed themselves to advertising. They wanted more of it. So, if advertisers wanted circulation, publishers would give it to them, no matter what it took to get it or how useful it was to the advertiser.[29]

Attempts to Verify Circulation

Advertisers and their agents grew tired of publisher duplicity regarding circulation; so at the start of the new century they undertook a two-pronged

approach to verifying newspaper circulation claims by requiring guarantees in contracts and organizing into associations for auditing purposes.

During the 1913 ANPA convention, delegates dealt with this issue: "There is a growing tendency on the part of national advertisers to insert a clause in their newspaper advertising contracts insisting that the circulation shall be guaranteed not to fall below a certain figure . . . ." Discussion revealed that several publishers or business managers already had signed such contracts, but the publishers protected themselves against circulation declines by setting base guarantees substantially below their actual circulation. The Houston *Post* used a figure four years old, when the paper had last adjusted its ad rates. The New York *Times* guaranteed 200,000 circulation, although its current total was reportedly 245,000. The contract guarantee clause was not effective in meeting advertiser goals, but it certainly made publishers sensitive to advertiser demands.[30]

More effective was advertiser cooperation. Several associations were started with their primary purpose the verification of circulation.

Perhaps the earliest associations which dealt specifically with the circulation problem were the American Advertisers Association, formed in 1899 in New York City, and the American Society of National Advertising, a western organization which merged with the AAA in 1900. That year the AAA changed its name to the Association of American Advertisers. For something like fourteen years the agency tried to verify circulation figures of newspapers and magazines, but it had limited success because only advertisers were members, which meant advertisers paid the expenses of auditing newspapers. Publishers evidently "resented" such auditing, Alfred McClung Lee claims.[31] More importantly, advertisers "resented" having to pay for information that publishers should have provided free. The costs restricted the membership. The AAA ceased in 1913.

But change was coming, with an inevitability that many publishers found disquieting. Especially important was the Postal Act of 1912, which required daily newspaper publishers to file semi-annual sworn circulation statements. While the act did not solve the problem of circulation accuracy or circulation meaning, it helped to prepare publishers for auditing. A debate occurred in the ANPA convention in 1914, which highlighted the importance of the Postal Act. Elbert H. Baker of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* had been the association's president the previous year. He reported that no more than a hundred publishers had elevated their circulation through spurious means, such as sending free copies around the country, then having the circulation audited and filing it with the Post Office. They then promoted that audited circulation. Competitors were frantic. The ANPA resolved that the government's regulation, which the association earlier had challenged in the courts, should be improved, not done away with. Frank P. Glass of the Birmingham (Alabama) *News* put the point most persuasively: "We cannot afford to appear even for a moment as challenging any sort of machinery in this country for ascertaining what honest circulations there are."(sic)[32]

A year later two organizations took on the task of auditing circulation. One group was established by the Association of National Advertising Managers (which soon changed its name to Association of National Advertisers). A

conference in the spring of 1913 to plan auditing methods included representation from the major magazine and newspaper management associations in the country, with the exception of the Periodical Publishers' Association. During the next several months the conventions of these groups discussed the plans outlined at the ANAM's convention. There was resistance, but an executive committee with representation from the eight participating associations was finally formed in October 1913 as the Bureau of Verified Circulations. Five of the eight board members represented publishers, and all were from New York City.[33]

The leadership of the AAA, which had disbanded in 1913, appealed to the Western Advertising Agents' Association to take over the auditing functions it had been performing. Stanley Clague of Chicago, president of the WAAA, reorganized the AAA and before long had paid off the debts of the association, renaming it the Advertising Audit Association. The important difference in this association from the previous AAA was that publishers were involved. It also differed from the Bureau of Verified Circulations in New York in that advertisers dominated the board of directors. During the remainder of 1913 the two groups, the Advertising Audit Association and the Bureau of Verified Circulations met to discuss plans for merger. In May 1914 the newly merged group met in Chicago as the Advertising Audit Association and Bureau of Verified Circulations, quickly renamed the Audit Bureau of Circulations.[34]

Publisher autonomy suffered, but circulation credibility increased with the decision to elect a board of directors of twenty-one, with 62 percent of the members representing advertisers and advertising agents. The board was composed of eleven advertisers, plus two members each from among advertising agents, newspaper publishers, magazine publishers, farm publication publishers, and business publication publishers. William H. Boyenton concluded that the "willingness of the publishers to allow this provision for buyer control through majority representation on the board is evidence of a desire on their part to put an end to old abuses and establish standards for sound circulation practices." The charter membership was 614; in one year it increased to 978. One year after its formation Earnest Elmo Calkins in *The Business of Advertising* wrote that the bureau "is fast displacing all other methods of securing this data, and arriving at a common agreement upon facts relating to the circulation of advertising mediums." The Audit Bureau of Circulations was a success and would soon reduce to small proportions one of the most vexing problems of the previous fifty years: accurate, meaningful circulation figures.[35]

Conclusions

The Audit Bureau of Circulations culminated decades of advertiser pressure for accurate and meaningful circulation figures. There were many contributing factors in the successful implementation of the ABC, but certainly advertising solicitors and managers played a very important role. Hired to increase advertising income, they felt they had to provide advertiser and agents with accurate information about circulation. Don Seitz argued that

they sided with the advertiser more than with the publisher. Advertisers, with the help of the Trojan Horses in the newspaper's business department, finally succeeded in persuading publishers to supply their need for accurate and verifiable circulation. The New Journalism newspapers led the way in providing information to advertisers while placing the sale of space on a business-like, equitable basis.

NOTES

[1]"Pennsylvania Editorial Convention," *Advertiser's Gazette*, 4:4 (April 1870), p. 87; "Advertising Agencies," *Advertisers Gazette*, 9:11 (June 10, 1875), p. 186.

[2]*American Newspaper Directory*, New York, 1869; Charles Mitchell. *The Newspaper Press Directory: Containing Full Particulars Relative to Each Journal Published in the United Kingdom and the British Isles . . . for the Year 1846 (London, 1846).*

[3]Quoted in Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York, 1937), p. 341.

[4]Quoted in George Presbury Rowell, *Forty Years an Advertising Agent, 1865-1905* (New York, 1906), p. 473.

[5]Quoted in William H. Boyenton, *Audit Bureau of Circulations*, Chicago, 1952, pp. 5-6.

[6]Lee, p. 227; Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising (Garden City, N.Y., 1929), pp. 276-78; Hower, pp. 470-77; Paul Terry Cherington, Advertising As a Business Force* (New York, 1913), pp. 494-95. By 1900 there were an estimated 39 journals extant in the United States dealing with advertising, newspapers and other journals, according to Sidney A. Sherman, "Advertising in the United States," *American Statistical Association*, N.S. No. 52 (December 1900), pp. 29-30.

[7]Calculated from Lee, pp. 748-49.

[8]Jason Rogers, *Building Newspaper Advertising* (New York and London, 1919), pp. 50-51.

[9]*Ibid.*, and *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1913*, p. 11 (on file at ANPA headquarters in Reston, Va.). All references to these annual reports will be given in short form, such as *27th ANPA 1913*, which would identify the above report.

[10]Milton A. McRae, *Forty Years in Newspaperdom* (New York, 1923), pp. 21-23; William W. Lutz, *The News of Detroit* (Boston, 1973), p. 18; Julian J. Rammelkamp, *Pulitzer's Post Dispatch, 1878-1883* (Princeton, N.J., 1966), p. 106; McRae, p. 39; Edwin Emery, *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association* (Minneapolis, 1950), p. 16.

[11]"New York Press," *Advertiser's Gazette*, 4:4 (April 1870), pp. 70-71; "The Sun's Figures," *Journalist*, No. 12 (June 7, 1884), p. 4; Rogers, p. 160; Rammelkamp, p. 202, footnote 153.

[12]Allen N. Drake, "Sleuthing Out Inflated Newspaper Circulation," *Printer's Ink*, 73:11 (Dec. 15, 1910), p. 17; *4th ANPA 1890*, p. 71; B.S. Carnes, "Newspaper Publicity and the General Advertiser," *The Michigan Bulletin*, 13:330 (February 1906).

[13]J.David Stern, *Memoirs of a Maverick Publisher* (New York, 1962), p. 94; Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times, 1851-1921* (New York, 1921), p. 203.

[14]Boyenton, pp. 3-4.

[15]"Pennsylvania Editorial Convention," p. 87; Rogers, p. 161; Carnes, p. 330.

[16]Rogers, pp. 160-61.

[17]*5th ANPA 1891*, p. 10; *8th ANPA 1891*, pp. 37-38; *27th ANPA 1913*, p. 28.

[18]Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, *Modern Advertising* (New York, 1905), pp. 186-91.

[19]Jason Rogers wrote two books which dealt with these problems. They were *Newspaper Building. Application of Efficiency to Editing, to Mechanical Production, to Circulation and Advertising* (New York, 1918) and *Building Newspaper Advertising*, which has already been cited in this paper. The quote is from "Where Care is Needed," *Fourth Estate*, No. 11 (May 10, 1894), p. 4.

[20]Rogers, *Building Newspaper Advertising*, p. 178; quoted in Lee, pp. 339-40.

[21]*4th ANPA 1890*, Scott quote on p. 79, Brearly quote on p. 19.

[22]Rogers, *Building Newspaper Advertising*, pp. 28-29; Rammelkamp, p. 202; "Chicago's Newspapers," *Journalist*, 5:12 (June 11, 1887), p. 1-2; Presbrey, p. 355; "By-the-Bye," *Journalist*, 5:12 (June 11, 1887), p. 9; Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt, *Thinking Big. The*

Story of the Los Angeles Times. Its Publishers and Their Influence on Southern California (New York, 1977), p. 28; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, From 1690 to 1872*, (New York, 1873), p. 734.

[23]Rogers, *Building Newspaper Advertising*, pp. 162-64; Rogers, *Newspaper Building*, p. 14; Harry Tipper, *et al*, *Advertising. Its Principles and Practice* (New York, 1915), p. 446.

[24]Don C. Seitz, *Training for the Newspaper Trade* (Philadelphia, 1916), pp. 98-100, 121-24; Hamilton Holt, *Commercialism and Journalism* (Boston, 1909), p. 33; Rogers, *Building Newspaper Advertising*, pp. 52-53. See also Frank C. Higgins, "The Advertising Solicitor," *Journalist*, 5:15 (July 2, 1887), 6.

[25]Rogers, *ibid.*, p. 10; Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune. The Rise of a Great American Newspaper* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 360-61, 365; Gerald W. Johnson, *et al.*, *The Sunpapers of Baltimore, 1837-1937* (New York, 1937), pp. 256-57; Wendt, pp. 433-34.

[26]"Cheap Newspapers," *The Nation*, 37 (Oct. 25, 1883), p. 346; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1927), pp. 327-30; Lee, pp. 264-65; "For a Fair Price," *Fourth Estate*, 10 (Aug. 4, 1898), p. 232; Dennis, pp. 156-58.

[27]Addison Archer, *American Journalism. From the Practical Side* (New York, 1897), p. 322.

[28]Calculated from Lee, pp. 748-49.

[29]Archer, p. 310.

[30]*27th ANPA 1913*, pp. 66-67.

[31]In Lee, p. 342.

[32]Presbrey, p. 544; Edward Jackson Baur, "Voluntary Control in the Advertising Industry," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1942, pp. 267-70; Lee, p. 342; *28th ANPA 1914*, pp. 47-52.

[33]Baur, pp. 267-68, 272; Boyenton, pp. 8-10.

[34]Boyenton, pp. 10-11.

[35]*Ibid.*, pp. 10-12; Earnest Elmo Calkins, *The Business of Advertising* (New York, 1915), p. 346.

William W. Holden: North Carolina's Political Enigma. *By Horace W. Raper.* Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985. 354 pp.

This is a sympathetic look at a North Carolina journalist who climbed to the top of his state's political heap only to come tumbling down hard during the bitter Reconstruction years.

William W. Holden was appointed provisional governor of North Carolina after the Civil War and then was elected to the office. His supporters considered him a champion of the "common folk," but his opponents deemed him an ambitious, scheming opportunist seeking personal gain.

In the long run, his opponents, which included the plantation aristocracy and the Ku Klux Klan, won out, and Holden was removed from office by impeachment and conviction. Holden was much maligned during his latter years, but the author of this biography, Horace W. Raper, believes most of the abuse was unjustified.

"More than any other North Carolinian of his era, Holden shaped the state's political, social, and economic development as he worked unceasingly for the betterment of his fellowman," Raper writes. "In spite of this critic's accusations and his lost administrative opportunities, William W. Holden was a man of dignity and integrity, dedicated to humanism."

The illegitimate son of a gristmill operator, Holden began his journalism career at the age of ten as a "printer's devil" for the *Hillsborough Recorder* and later worked as a printer for several other North Carolina newspapers. Mostly self-educated, he began writing newspaper articles while working for the *Raleigh Star*.

He then studied law under the direction of a Raleigh attorney and was licensed in 1841. Holden began his legal practice in Raleigh while immersing himself in city politics and civic work. Two years later, however, he returned to journalism. With the financial backing of several Democratic leaders, Holden became editor and owner of the *North Carolina Standard*, the party's political organ.

Raper, a professor of history at Tennessee Technological University, writes that the expertly edited and well-written *Standard* set an example of journalistic excellence under Raper's editorship. "As a printer, he insisited upon correct grammar, proper punctuation, and accurate spelling," Raper adds. "Holden's style was simple, straightforward, and readable. His editorials were generally positive . . . ."

During his career, Holden was often criticized for shifting his political allegiance. He, for instance, was a Whig before becoming a Democrat. He then became a Conservative before affiliating himself with the Radical Republicans.

After his ouster from office, Holden fled North Carolina and went to the nation's capital where he eventually became political editor of the *Washington Daily and Weekly Chronicle*, a Republican newspaper. In 1872,

he returned to Raleigh as postmaster. He died in 1892 at the age of seventy-four.

This meticulously researched book is the first complete biography of Holden. It also is a reasonably objective assessment of Holden's life, although it is obvious the author admires his subject greatly.

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The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750-1900. *By J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue.* New York: Schocken Books, 1985. 224 pp.

A common theme in the historiography of popular culture is the notion that a folk tradition of pre-capitalist origins was summarily discharged from industrializing society in favor of a highly commercial mass culture. In such an interpretation, the imposition of mass culture is seen in class terms as a form of domination. The new culture is judged inferior, a fall from ethnic grace. Journalism, as a mode and medium of popular culture, is said to have experienced and promoted the fall.

The Civilization of the Crowd offers a conterargument for English popular culture. It traces popular culture in Britain through the Industrial Revolution and finds no cataclysmic transformation, at least up to the eve of the 20th century.

What Golby and Purdue suggest did take place was a complex and uneven modification of popular culture, in some areas of activity radical, in others quite complementary to tradition. They contend that commercialization of culture was a factor before industrialization. They observe that many overt attempts were made by upper-class constituents to control the leisure pursuits of the working class, but met with little success. The efforts of labor activists to channel the course of cultural development also were resisted by the folk population. In the area of rational reform, there was not a good deal of difference between what was being advocated from above and below despite the dissimilarity in motivations. The common man of England was very democratic in largely ignoring ventures to bring any ulterior purpose to his diversions during his nonworking hours.

What the authors suggest was the most significant change in popular culture in the period 1750-1900 is reflected in the title of their book: the "civilization" of popular tastes for entertainment and expression, a move away from witnessing and participating in violent activities for amusement. Society as a whole grew more respectable along with the general rise in prosperity. Cruelty to animals, and ultimately toward fellow citizens, declined as a diversion. Regulation came to sports, games, festivals, drinking, even fornication. Professionalism emerged in the arts. Broadsides became a popular press; free-and-easies became music halls. St. Monday, the surreptitious workingman's holiday, became institutionalized as Saturday. Rising literacy, the stabilization of family life, the growth of recreation

centers and the transportation means to reach them: all were influences that shaped the contours of popular culture. Entrepreneurs were there to exploit them, but no dominating force directed the evolution of popular culture against the tendencies of the people themselves. And much of the culture remained deeply rooted in habits and customs of long duration. What stood as the people's culture at the turn of the 20th century was not something inferior or less authentic than what existed 150 years previously. At worst it was simply different in detail and scope, as complex as the times.

The authors' argument provides a useful reply to more pessimistic and reproachful accounts of the effects of industrialization on popular culture during the period, although the research is not particularly depthful. It is more a survey of recent studies on the topic, and, although the focus is English, may be useful for some scholars of American culture who are interested in examining the subject from a different perspective.

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Grandma Never Lived in America: The New Journalism of Abraham Cahan. *Edited with an Introduction by Moses Rischin.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. 538 pp. Cloth, $24.95.

Amidst the flashy, brassy, gaudy world of the turn-of-the-century journalism of Pulitzer and Hearst there flourished in New York another radically different kind of journalism as well, one particularly nurtured by Lincoln Steffens at his avant-garde *Commercial Advertiser.* "Aspiring to quiet art," writes Moses Rischin, "this genre aimed to penetrate beneath the surfaces, and to educate and extend reader sensibilities and perceptions, rather than to titillate and inflame their imaginations." Obscured by his successes as a distinguished foreign-language editor, as a novelist, and as a translator, Abraham Cahan's contributions in this genre are generally unknown. They were not even available in book form until now. All that has changed with the publication of *Grandma Never Lived in America: The New Journalism of Abraham Cahan*, a book bursting at its seams wth energy, insight, freshness, humor, candor, and sensitivity.

Abraham Cahan (1869-1951) is most famous for his achievement as editor of the Jewish Daily *Forward*, where as Rischin puts it, he "transformed an unreadable sectarian Yiddish daily into an American journalistic landmark, no less than the world's greatest immigrant, socialist, and Jewish newspaper." He is also well-known as the man who introduced Chekhov and other Russian writers to America, and as the author of the novels *Fekl* (which received a rave review from William Dean Howells as soon as it was published in 1896) and *The Rise of David Levinsky*.

This anthology represents the first effort to recover Cahan's English-language journalism. Most of the selections appeared in *The New York*

Commercial Advertiser between 1897 and 1903. Others appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Ainslee's Magazine*, *The Bookman*, *The Century*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Scribner's*, and the Sunday supplement of the New York *Sun*. Also included are eight original Cahan stories and six of his translations of Russian fiction and nonfiction. Moses Rischin's elegant and informative introduction provides a context for appreciating Cahan's stunning achievement. As he notes, "With an accute and penetrating feeling for history, this sentient literary journalist probed American ethnic and cultural consciousness as had no one before him." Cahan is not simply the best; he was also the first.

Steffens' newspaper and Cahan's talents, were, so to speak, a match made in heaven. In addition to allowing his reporters total freedom (as long as what they wrote was interesting), Steffens saw his paper as the "self-appointed educator of its genteel readers in the everyday arts of metropolitan living." In Steffens' calculations, the special foil for his running critique of proper New York was the improper Lower East Side and the satellite immigrant quarters, which he perceived not as regions for reform, as Jacob Riis of the *Sun* viewed them, but as a revolving showcase of human possibilities that challenged the assumptions of late Victorian America and intimated that life might be lived more interestingly, more generously, more openly. Since nothing seemed more ridiculous to respectable Americans than the public display of emotions, Steffens resolved to report incidents of gaiety in New York as conspicuously as most newspapers reported incidents of murder – on the front page – and to do the same for indignation, surprise, cunning, rage, and all other expressions of human feeling." Cahan was the perfect man for the job.

Cahan brought to his reporting a breadth of experience unparalleled by any of this peers. He had shared in every aspect of the immigrant experience himself. He had worked in factories, founded labor unions, played a key role in socialist politics, edited and written four Yiddish journals, taught English to immigrants for more than a decade in the city's night schools (the first to do so), and had written the first major novel of immigrant life.

When Walt Whitman wrote "A Peep at the Israelites" in the New York *Aurora* in 1842, his sincerity, interest, and good will could not make up entirely for his ignorance of the significance of the intriguing spectacle he saw before him. The result was a series of evocative verbal pictures that told the reader more about the awe they inspired in Whitman than about the meaning of the scenes themselves. When Abraham Cahan witnessed similar scenes in the 1890s, however, he brought to them not only curiosity and respect, but also a deep understanding of their significance for the people involved – and an awareness of what it took to translate that meaning into terms the reader would readily comprehend.

Cahan, whose translations, introduced Chekhov and other great Russian writers to America, was a master translator in the fullest sense of the term. He had a finely-honed intuitive sense of how to translate the conversations, traditions, rituals, folkways, and feelings of his people into a smoothly-flowing English that miraculously retained the inflections and phrasings of Yiddish. He also understood how to explain without expounding, how to pass

on information and understanding with grace and wit, without trumpeting that a lesson was in progress.

He had a delightful ear for the zest and energy of Talmudic debate, as well as for the lengths to which the faithful would go to rationalize a custom whose origins and purpose even the sages had long forgotten. He paints memorable scenes that we find, in all their vividness, nowhere else in our literature: the Bar Office, the immigrants' first uncertain encounters with the Golden Land whose promises lured them from across the sea; the Market, the cries of fish-peddlers and fruit-peddlers, the exuberant cacophony, the banter and the curses. He surprises with unexpected images: the shirtwaist maker who always carried *Gray's Anatomy* under her arm (preparing for an eventual career in medicine); the devout news-vender tormented about whether he ought to return a gift given to him by a charitable woman on Christmas eve.

Women in Cahan's articles are often bright, articulate, witty, and complex. Some of them resemble some of the memorable women drawn some years later by fiction writer Anzia Yezierska, whose work is now being rediscovered. They are relatively rare in America journalism and fiction of this period, however, and are refreshing to encounter. Cahan is sensitive and sympathetic to the incipient feminism he sees around him; women in his articles often voice their frustration over exclusion from religious rituals.

As Theodore Dreiser wrote in 1896 in the magazine *Ev'ry Month*, "the striking tailors, coat makers, pressers, bushelmen, they are this vast substrata on which the city stands, a part of the roots that are down in the ground, delving, that vast flowerlike institutions may bloom overhead. Strange tales could be told of their miseries, strange pictures drawn of their haunts and habitations, but it is not for here or now." In large part due to the talents and efforts of Abraham Cahan, "that part of the city which is never seen and seldom heard" began to tell its stories to an English-speaking public – not as "strange tales" and "strange pictures" but as vibrant and vivid scenes in the life of a great city. (In addition to raising his own distinctive and eloquent voice, Cahan played a key role in facilitating the attention of others. As Rischin notes, Cahan was the silent collaborator who helped Hutchins Hapgood write *The Spirit of the Ghetto*, the first study by an outsider of the inner life of an American immigrant community.)

As Rischin comments, "The new journalism of the 1890s, like its successor of the 1960s and after, was 'powered by feeling as well as intellect.' If it did not become emblematic of a mass revolution in manners and morals as did the later new journalism, it too proposed to open windows on new realities, clearing the way for a era when the distinctive inner worlds of all the nation's peoples would increasingly be incorporated into an ever enlarging American public consciousness." The most recent heir to the tradition, both in style and in subject matter, would be the recently-published *Holy Days: The World of a Hasidic Family*, by Lis Harris, which first appeared in the *New Yorker*.

Journalism historians should be grateful to Moses Rischin for making available material which sheds light on an important chapter of the history of journalism in America. Social historians should value the glimpses these articles offer into the ways a community of recent immigrants met the challenge of blending the old world with the new without forfeiting the

special strengths of either. Journalists or social scientists engaged in the enterprise of trying to communicate to readers the essence of a culture that is basically foreign to them have much to learn from Cahan's virtuoso translation of the immigrant's world into terms the average reader could understand and appreciate. And finally, anyone who cares about writing would do well to study the clear, luminous prose with which Cahan managed to tell stories as fresh and immediate as they are timeless.

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Hollywood: The Years of Innocence. *By John Kobal.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1985. 192 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

The frame of this picture book is that, from 1915-1921, Hollywood was a sunny, sleepy town, spontaneous, naive, and innocent. Soon Hollywood would lose "her" innocence, amid scandals and smog, and become (as a commentator wrote in the '30s) "a woman of the world, sparkling, bizarre, hard and bitter, with a painted face and narrow eyes."

Was Hollywood ever innocent? This collection of photographs from the studio of Nelson Evans, a professional photographer during the teens and twenties, is offered by John Kobal as evidence that, yes, there was a time when Hollywood was "at the awkward age of puberty," when the faces of stars and would-be stars were still "open to suggestion, eyes still wide with astonishment."

The photographs are charming. The bulk of them are portraits, mostly studio, but some taken outdoors, in gardens, on the beach, in huge cars. Others are on location, or on sets, publicity shots and semi-candids. The pictures are well reproduced and nicely arranged, with commentary by Kobal that is, for the most part, useful and unobtrusive.

And yet. There is something odd about Kobal's insistence on this period as the time of Hollywood's innocence. He says "the laughter in these faces radiates from the person, and is not conjured up to make an image or portray a mood." The question is, of course, how do we know?

The thing about pictures, moving and still, is precisely that we *can't* ascertain what radiates from the person or place. Instead we see what we are led to see, what we long to see, what we can decipher. That is what movies, and Hollywood, are about. In these pictures of early Hollywood, we are led to decipher (and long for) an innocence we insist must be there, before "she" lost her bloom of youth, and became gimlet-eyed and cynical.

I read Kobal's book the same week that I read *Hollywood Babylon II*, Kenneth Anger's second collection of news photos, mug shots, coronor's reports and innuendo, "lavishly illustrated with very revealing photos." On its cover is a heavy, sullen Elizabeth Taylor, the very image of fallen Hollyood, the antithesis of her dewy violet-eyed early self. The *Hollywood Babylons* are dark twins to Kobal's book. In fact, a double-page still of D.W. Griffith's

mammoth *Intolerance* set figures in both. As does Mary Miles Minter.

Mary Miles Minter can be taken as the embodiment of both Kobal and Anger's books. She is hauntingly lovely in Evans' studio portrait of her in her early teens, sweet and innocent standing next to stacks of publicity photos that tower over her, and cute and pert in a shot "between takes" with a co-star and her director, William Desmond Taylor.

It was her relationship with Taylor, discovered through a sensational trial after his 1922 murder, that gets her into Anger's book. In it, her picture is captioned "Demure Innocence?" and her love letter to Taylor (found between the pages of an erotic book) is reproduced. By 1922, Hollywood and Mary Miles Minter had lost a virginal image, and, according to Anger, M.M.M. "turned to the consolation of comfort eating and rapidly put on weight."

Such is the fall of M.M.M. and Hollywood. But is it, really, a loss of innocence? Where is this innocence? In Mary Miles Minter, in the palm trees and wide streets, in the thousands who flocked to the sunshine and promise of wealth and fame? And did it end, suddenly, in the 1921 trial of Fatty Arbuckle? That is where both Kobal and Anger locate "the fall," but surely innocence did not flourish before, and depravity reign forever after.

More likely the innocence is in us, who make Hollywood a site for a particularly American story – youth, spontaneity, and possibility, soiled by greed, competition, and older men. the metaphor of Hollywood as once young and virginal, and now painted and overweight, is too potent and recurrent to dismiss. But it is *we* who write the story, and we who find it in the photographs.

Evans' photographs, sunny, charming, and open, punctuated by Kobal's tender commentary, is the complement to Anger's Babylon, where grainy coroner's pictures and news photos are explained in leering, lascivious prose. Neither discourse is the "truth" of Hollywood, but taken together they tell us mostly about ourselves, and of the ways we interpret Hollywood as the site of our own lost possibilites.

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Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940. *By Roland Marchand.* Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1985. 448 pp. Index. Cloth, $35.00.

Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream* contributes significantly to a growing body of literature that has established the credibility of a "consumption ethic," and confirmed advertising to be a central institution in American culture. His perceptive analysis for the period 1920-1940 does not attribute to the advertising trade any insidious manipulative powers; there is no conspiratorial thesis lurking within the book. Though he does emphasize that the primary concern of advertising historically was to sell goods, he accurately places this process within the

broader revolution in American business, which included the growth of a talented managerial class, mass distribution, and nationwide urban markets. An increase (or decrease) in sales was a result of many factors, only one of which was merchandising. Hence, the author's interpretation is balanced and believable. He asserts that advertisements were communications of reinforcement rather than persuasive ones, that they imitated trends but also diffused them. He does not cast advertising as a social mirror, however. Marchand contends that if advertising reflected anything during the period, it was the peculiar views and aspirations of advertisers themselves.

Nevertheless, successful advertising obviously touched something in the culture. Marchand's convincing and provocative deduction is that the language of ad campaigns attempted to (and largely succeeded in) easing the transition into modern society. Advertising allowed people to feel comfortably part of the mass, but retain their individualism as well, to participate in the equality of consumption (thus spreading the American dream of democracy) while at the same time allowing for individual freedom (the dream of personal success). In this way ad men not only became "apostles for modernity," promoting new styles and technology; they also eased much of the general anxiety (including their own) resulting from an increasing loss of community and individual control. Advertisers sought to counsel, uplift, and assuage their constituency, as well as to move merchandise. Thus, advertising became "modern" as it de-emphasized products and provided instead information about the perceived anxieties and hopes of the consumer. How advertisers attempted this patronage is the book's major contribution to literature.

Marchand has much to say about the "rational" philosophy of a male-dominated profession toward "emotional" consumers in general, but toward women (who comprised most of the consumers) in particular. He examines the sexual, ethnic, urban, and class bias of dominant ad agencies, as well as their own cynicism, competition, and insecurities. Marchand also breaks new ground by demonstrating the contribution to advertising of other mass media: radio, movies, confession magazines, and tabloid newspapers. He has well-documented his findings from an impressive array of hitherto unknown agency records, and has digested a variety of contemporary and secondary sources as well.

The elevation of public taste (a major part of the "consumer ethic" as promoted by many advertisers) provides the avenue by which Marchand writes intriguing pieces analyzing the almost religious nature of American advertising – the "Gospel of the Full Cereal Bowl," the "Parable of the First Impression," the "Parable of the Democracy of Goods," the "Parable of Civilization Redeemed," and other "moments of secular epiphany." Marchand makes a strong case for advertisements as "secular sermons," although his argument would have been strengthened considerably had he placed it within the larger context of social change. American society was becoming increasingly secular despite flourishes of fundamentalism. Religion was diminishing in influence as a means of social control as more people, especially in the developing youth culture, absorbed the values of peer groups and mass media rather than of the community, the church, and the family. Though Marchand imaginatively speaks to this issue, he fails to attach its

broader implications.

Ironically, another weakness of the book lies in its treatment of the consumer culture itself. Though the book investigates the 1920s and 1930s, it essentially draws upon a shift in American culture that already was underway by the 1890s. Marchand provides insightful comment on attitudes of work, utilitarianism, individual production, leisure, convenience, style, mass consumption; but he does not make clear the dilemma most Americans faced as one ethic eroded the other. If advertisers "shared with other businessmen a deep suspicion of the impulses toward what could be considered self indulgence, frivolous wastefulness, and decadent extravagance, and all these seemed to lurk within the consumption ethic"; and if they were "unwilling to abandon allegiance to the work ethic," seeing themselves as "producers, not consumers" (158), was there no similar dilemma among consumers? Did not such anxieties characterize the shift in values that made the Progressive Era and the 1920s the uproarius periods that they were? The book does affirm the revolutionary development of a new ethic in American culture, for it assigns to advertising the role of a therapeutic agent of acculturation. But readers unfamiliar with the works of Daniel Boorstin, Stuart Ewen, Richard Wightman Fox, T.J. Jackson Lears, Jeffrey L. Meikle, and others, may find the basic dilemma a bit unclear.

Some readers will be disappointed to find no mention of Edward Bernays, who played a crucial role in the development of American advertising philosophy. Regrettable, too, are the rather cameo appearances of Roy S. Durstin, Claude C. Hopkins, and Fairfax Cone. But Bruce Barton, Albert D. Lasker, *Printer's Ink*, and the agencies of Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn, the J. Walter Thompson Co., N.W. Ayer & Son, and Lord & Thomas speak frequently and effectively throughout the book. More than 200 illustrations of advertisements attractively reproduced from a variety of periodicals not only reinforce a readable text, but provide a pictorial archive of advertising styles and techniques. This enjoyable book undoubtedly will become a major reference on the history of American advertising.

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Legal Advocacy and the First Amendment: Elisha Hanson's Attempt to Create First Amendment Protection for the Business of the Press

By Timothy W. Gleason

The role of legal counsel is of critical importance to understanding the process of courts' interpretation of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Legal advocates – that is, the lawyers who bring constitutional issues to the courts – shape constitutional questions in litigation before lower federal and state courts and in written and oral arguments before the Supreme Court. The concepts and ideas used by lawyers in arguing for their clients' interest help define the questions and issues considered by the courts in their interpretation of the law. Thus, the legal advocate can play an important role in helping the judiciary shape the scope and definition of the freedom of the press clause in the First Amendment.

In the development of the twentieth century concept of freedom of the press, the advocacy role of Elisha Hanson, chief legal counsel to the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA), influenced the Supreme Court's interpretation of the First Amendment. He attempted to define freedom of the press in terms which supported his claim that the First Amendment provided constitutional protection from government taxation and labor regulation for the newspaper industry. Hanson lost all but one of the First Amendment cases he argued before the Supreme Court, but the dicta in Supreme Court opinions suggest that jurists accepted some of his claims about the public trustee role of an objective press as a disseminator of information in a democracy.

In the 1930s and into the 1940s, the ANPA and Hanson aggressively attacked the economic regulatory and tax policies of both state legislatures and President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Hanson argued for sweeping First Amendment protection of both business and editorial aspects of the industry in federal courts at all levels throughout the 1930s and 1940s. In briefs and oral arguments, he claimed that the press was a trustee of the people's right to freedom of the press with responsibility to gather and disseminate information free from government interference and free of political bias.[1]

This article examines the historical context and the legal arguments presented in *Grosejean v. American Press* [2] and *Associated Press v. National*

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Labor Relations Board,[3] two important newspaper industry cases to reach the Supreme Court in the 1930s in which Hanson raised a claim of First Amendment protection of the economic aspects of the newspaper industry. Hanson's claim was partially successful in *Grosjean* but was rejected in *Associated Press.*

Hanson's crusade suggests that his strong belief in economic liberty and an extreme distrust of government were central to his view and use of the First Amendment. As counsel to the ANPA, Hanson used the First Amendment as an important part of the industry's anti-New Deal efforts. His persistent attempt to use the First Amendment as a shield for the newspaper industry highlights the need to examine and understand the important influence legal advocates' attempts to shape the First Amendment to meet the special needs of their clients have had on the constitutional definition of "freedom of speech, or of the press."

Freedom for the Business of the Press

The Supreme Court in the 1920s, under Chief Justice William Howard Taft, struck down most legislative attempts to regulate business as a threat to individual liberty. The Taft Court majority shared the conservative laissez-faire philosophy of government held by Hanson and others. But in the 1930s, the conservative majority became an intransigent minority bloc on the court. The shift began in 1930 when Charles Evans Hughes became Chief Justice after the death of Taft. By 1937, when the court handed down its decision in *Associated Press* and four other Wagner Act cases, the conservatives' notion of economic liberty was effectively dead.[4]

Grosejean v. American Press (1936)

In 1934 United States Senator Huey P. Long attempted to tighten the already strong control his political machine held over the Louisiana state government. Among the 360 laws passed by the Long-controlled state legislature in 1934 was a statute imposing a two percent tax on the revenues of all papers published in the state with a daily circulation greater than 20,000.[5] Of the 153 newspapers in Louisiana in 1934, only twelve consistently opposed Huey Long. All twelve had daily circulations greater than 20,000.[6] Long made no pretense about the purpose of the tax on newspapers. During hearings on the bill before the legislature's Ways and Means Committee, he testified:

> The newspapers are the charmed free ball of the country . . . . I believe in freedom of speech, but it has to be truthful speech, and lying newspapers should have to pay for their lying. I'm going to help these papers by hitting them in their pocketbooks; maybe then they'll try to clean up.[7]

Following passage of the newspaper tax, the nine corporations which published the thirteen newspapers subject to the tax immediately sought relief in Federal District Court. The newspapers' counsel included Elisha Hanson of

the ANPA and Esmond Phelps, a lawyer and director of the New Orleans *Times Picayune*. Phelps contended that the tax discriminated against newspaper publishers. The court issued an interlocutory injunction on March 22, 1935. As a result, the newspapers avoided paying any tax under the two percent law.[8] The court based its decision on the equal protection claim, stating that it was the "only question that needed to be considered."[9]

However, the ruling applied only to clearly discriminatory tax schemes, thus providing less than absolute protection for newspapers from state taxes. In 1935 other states were considering taxes on the relatively healthy newspaper industry as a means of raising badly needed revenue.[10] In this climate, Hanson argued before the Supreme Court for absolute protection:

> The constitutional guarantees against abridgement of freedom of the press were intended to prohibit every form of abridgement conceivable in the minds of hostile legislatures . . . . The power to tax the press is the power to destroy it.[11]

Hanson and other more reactionary members of the newspaper industry perceived every legislature to be hostile. His paraphrase of Chief Justice John Marshall's well known dicta in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, in which Marshall wrote "the power to tax involves the power to distroy,"[12] suggests the absolute protection from taxation sought by the ANPA's legal counsel.

Hanson also argued that publishers were more than just businessmen looking for relief from discriminatory taxation. "Newspaper publishers," he wrote, "occupy the position of trustees of a right granted to all the people. By reason of that particular position, it is their solumn duty to protect the press."[13]

Hanson's brief in *Grosjean* was based on two themes which he argued throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s in numerous cases involving the Fair Labor Standards Act and the National Labor Relations Act.[14] He linked the economic health of the newspaper industry and what he termed the industry's role as "trustee of the peoples' right to have a press free from government restraint"[15] and then argued that any and all government regulation of the business aspects of the industry violated the First Amendment. In the political climate of the 1930s, Hanson equated federal and state attempts to regulate labor practices in all industries, including the newspaper industry, with measures taken to control the press under Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco:

> Unless the people of this country are vigilant in the protection of their right to life, liberty, and property, it is not fantastic to assume that the experiences of the peoples of Germany, of Italy, of France, and of Spain will soon become ours.[16]

Therefore, Hanson reasoned, any government regulation of any aspect of the newspaper industry, regardless of its relation to the editorial function of the industry, had to be prevented. This blending of individual and economic liberty reflects the conservative view of liberty as primarily a property right.

In the nineteenth century and during the first third of the twentieth century, the conservative definition of liberty was the dominant influence shaping the definition of constitutional liberty. Recognition of the importance of property in the conservative definition of liberty provides context for understanding the ANPA's persistent claim that the business of publishing must be linked to the constitutional protection of the editorial function of publishing.

Hanson's use of a public trustee concept appears at first glance to contradict his First Amendment claim. Legislatures had the authority to regulate the business practices of industries which were "affected with the public interest."[17] A public trustee role for publishers would open the business of publishing to reasonable government regulation. But Hanson, after defining freedom of the press as a protection for the business and editorial practices of the newspaper idustry, attempted to turn the industry's trustee status into a protection from any government regulation by linking the industry's interest in constitutional protection from government regulation with the public's interest in freedom of the press:

> Without freedom of the press, there could be no freedom of speech, for freedom of speech is the child of freedom of the press. Without freedom of the press there could be none of our other cherished rights as citizens of the United States. The press is the only agency for the gathering and dissemination of information that is free from government control exercised either directly or indirectly.[18]

Hanson's use of a trustee concept for the press is important because it distinguished the basis for First Amendment protection of the newspaper industry from earlier rationales used to define First Amendment protection of individual speech. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' marketplace of ideas metaphor[19] assumed a marketplace of speakers attempting to sell their ideas to the public, but Hanson's trustee model argued for a different role for the newspaper industry. The press, in Hanson's model, was the institution which gathered and disseminated information to the public. It was not just a collection of voices competing to be heard, but rather, an institution performing a public service vital to the democratic process.

Hanson's First Amendment claim was accepted by the court. To the amazement of some observers, Justice George Sutherland, the best known and most articulate member of the conservative bloc on the court, signed a "liberal" opinion joined by both conservative and liberal members of the divided Hughes Court.[20]

Sutherland accepted the industry's public trustee concept and thus supported Hanson's attempt to carve out a distinct First Amendment protection for the newspaper industry:

> The predominant purpose of the grant of immunity here invoked was to preserve an untrammeled press as a vital source of public information. The newspaper, magazines and journals of the country, it is safe to say, have shed and continue to shed,

> more light on the public and business affairs of the nation than any other instrumentality of publicity . . . . A Free press stands as one of the great interpreters between government and the people.[21]

Sutherland's reliance on the trustee role defined by Hanson served the interests of only the mainstream institutional press. He suggested that First Amendment protection of the press was based on its role as a separate and distinct entity facilitating the flow of information, rather than on the value of constitutional protection of hell-raising, irresponsible advocates of ideas of varying and sometimes little value to the public. The dicta lent strong support to the ANPA's claim of an institutional protection, but were of little value to street corner pamphleteers or publishers on the radical fringe.

The specific holding in the case was most important because it expanded the definition of an unconstitutional prior restraint as applied to the press. Justice Sutherland accepted the industry's claim that a tax passed for the purpose of indirectly affecting the editorial function of a newspaper constituted a prior restraint. This interpretation went far beyond the Blackstonian concept of prior restraint as freedom from government licensing and beyond the direct prior restraint ruled unconstitutional in *Near v. Minnesota*,[22] but it stopped short of the absolute protection Hanson attempted to create in *Grosjean*.

In 1937 Hanson discovered the narrow scope of the court's ruling when, in *Girangi v. Moore*,[23] he argued before the Supreme Court that an Arizona state general sales tax violated a newspaper publisher's First Amendment rights. The court dismissed the case in a per curiam opinion for "want of a substantial federal question."[24] Also in 1937, on another front with even broader implications for the newspaper industry, the Court rejected Hanson's and the Associated Press' First Amendment challenge to the power of the National Labor Relations Board to regulate labor practices in the newspaper industry.

Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board (1937)

For many newspaper publishers in the 1930s, freedom of the press meant freedom from labor unions and freedom from New Deal regulation of their businesses. In 1933 the New Deal put the National Recovery Administration (NRA) in place and began to negotiate industry-wide labor standards under Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). Hanson and the ANPA vigorously fought the NIRA, claiming such regulation of the press violated the First Amendment. The newspaper industry refused to establish an industry labor code until the Roosevelt administration agreed to include a "freedom of the press" clause.[25]

Agreement on an industry code with a freedom of the press clause did not end Hanson's opposition to New Deal labor regulation under the NIRA. Following an adverse decision in one of the first labor grievance cases heard under the code, Hanson immediately denounced the government's order that reporter Dean Jennings be reinstated in his job at William Randolph Hearst's

San Francisco *Call Bulletin* as "a violent and deliberate violation of the sacred [First Amendment] provision of the code," and the industry threatened to withdraw from the NRA.[26]

The Supreme Court overturned the NIRA on May 27, 1934,[27] but government involvement in employer-employee relations did not disappear. President Roosevelt signed the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) on July 5, 1935. Publishers fought it. In *Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board*, the Supreme Court rejected the publishers' claim of First Amendment protection for the business of newspaper publishing and upheld federal authority to regulate labor-management relations in a reasonable manner.

Prior to the passage of the NLRA, the AP had refused to recognize the American Newspaper Guild, the union attempting to organize newspaper reporters and editors. On October 17, 1935, one day after the AP received a letter from the Guild requesting a collective bargaining conference, Morris Watson, an AP editor and a Guild officer, was fired. He filed an unfair labor practices claim with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Watson's charge that he had been fired for union activities stood unchallenged after John W. Davis, the AP's lawyer, refused to participate in the NLRB hearing on the case. He claimed the hearing violated the First Amendment rights of the AP. The NLRB found that the AP fired Watson because of his Guild activity and ordered him reinstated. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit sustained the ruling.[28] The Supreme Court accepted the AP's petition for a writ of certiorari and *AP v. NLRB* became one of five cases the Court accepted to determine the constitutionality of the NLRA.

In the AP's brief before the Supreme Court, Davis claimed the First Amendment provided special protection for the newspaper industry from government regulation. The brief expanded the role of the press as an interpreter and information provider – which Hanson had successfully argued in *Grosjean* – to incude the concept of objectivity, that is, the idea that the news should be free from all bias.[29] This attempt to incorporate objectivity into the constitutional protection of freedom of the press neatly fit the interests of the AP. The combination of Davis' claim of economic freedom of the press, which precluded any government regulation of the press which had even a remotely indirect effect on the editorial function of the press, and the claim that the production of unbiased news required the hiring of non-union employees, was an attempt to create a First Amendment shield against government regulation of labor practices.

In an *amicus curiae* brief, filed by the ANPA, Elisha Hanson attempted to stake out an even broader First Amendment protection based on the questionable premise that publishers had absolute power to fire any employee who belonged to any "external organization" because membership in such organizations threatened objective reporting of the news:

> Affiliation of newspaper reporter or editorial writers with an organization which can demand or command adherence to and support of any particular program affecting the broad public interest or assistance to one party or another in a controversy cannot be countenanced by a publisher who desires to preserve the integrity of his news columns.[30]

Since membership in external organizations threatened unbiased reporting of the news, Hanson claimed absolute protection from NLRB regulation. He argued:

> [T]he ANPA believes that when, in the judgment of a publisher, a news writer or editor, by reasons of external affiliations, influences or activities, becomes unsuited for employment, no agency of the government either has the power or can be endowed with the power by Congress to interfere with the exercise of that judgment, whatever the nature of the employee's affiliation or activities may be.[31]

The only activity in the case record to which the AP had voiced any objection had been Watson's union activity.[32] Hanson's argument can be interpreted only as claiming the First Amendment prohibited government interference with a publisher's absolute right to hire and fire.

Historian J. Edward Gerald suggested in 1947 that the "publishers had built [a First Amendment] case in their own minds and in the eyes of the public, but had gone to trial on another case — the issue of firing a man for union activity.[33] But the AP's and the ANPA's First Amendment claims were consistent with Hanson's view of the First Amendment as a shield against any regulation of the publisher's property or labor practices, as well as editorial decisions. In Hanson's view any distinction between the publishers' right to operate their businesses free from governmental interference and freedom to prevent the use of their newspapers, that is, their property, by reporters and editors whose beliefs conflicted with the publishers' own views, was not only artificial, but inconceivable.

The court, in a 5-4 decision, rejected this interpretation of freedom of the press. Justice Owen Roberts, writing for the majority, said the AP could establish a policy of objective reporting and then fire employees who violated the policy, but he rejected the claim that the First Amendment shielded the AP from government regulation of labor practices.[34]

Justice Sutherland, writing for the conservative minority, accepted the industry's claim of First Amendment protection of the business of newspaper publishing and argued for a broad avenue of protection:

> It, obviously, is essential that the news furnished should not only be without suppression but that it should be, as far as possible, free from color, bias, or distortion. Such is the long established policy of the Associated Press. If the Congressional Act here involved upon its face or in its present application abridges the freedom of the petitioner to carry its policy into effect, the Act to that extent falls under the condemnation of the First Amendment.[35]

Even though the NLRB hearing record contained no evidence to support a charge against Watson of biased news reporting, the minority concluded that the AP had a constitutional right under the First Amendment to fire him. Just as Hanson was unable to see any distinction between the business of

publishing and the editorial function of publishing, the laissez faire minority found that "If freedom of the press does not include the right to adopt and pursue a policy without government restriction, it is a misnomer to call it freedom."[36]

The conservative bloc on the Court soon disappeared as its members retired, but the ANPA continued to argue that freedom of the press proscribed government regulation of business policy well into the 1940s. Following defeat in the AP case, Hanson and others in the newspaper industry continued to believe the business and economic aspects of the industry could not be divorced from the editorial function. Objectivity, and the direct effect the ANPA claimed government labor regulations had on editorial autonomy, continued to provide the basis for the industry's argument.

Less than two weeks after the *AP* decision, Hanson told the ANPA that the key to understanding the decision was the Court's discussion of organization policy and the need to document the reasons for firing an editorial employee. He urged the publishers to keep better employee records and suggested that the battle to create First Amendment protection for the industry was far from over:

> I hope that if another case reaches the Court in the near future involving the power of Congress to regulate the business of the press, the Court will emphatically state that Congress has no power . . . . And I believe that if exercised in [a proper] manner, we can sustain the contention that the press in America cannot be subjected to governmental regulation in the performance of gathering and disseminating information.[37]

Post-AP v. NLRB Developments

In the summer of 1937 representatives from eleven cooperative news gathering organizations met in Chicago to draft a policy against closed union shops. They based the policy on the need for objectivity. In an editorial titled "News Without Bias," the *New York Times* voiced its support for the policy:

> [Editors' and publishers'] first duty is to the public; their all important duty is to publish news without bias. This they cannot undertake to do under conditions which would require a closed shop in the newsroom . . . . It is the publishers' responsibility to resist any influence which might lead to the coloration of the news . . . .[38]

The *Times* editorial closed with a statement which fused objectivity with the continued existence of a free press:

> Only through such reporting can the American Press remain a free press, and a free press is an indispensable instrument of democratic government.[39]

Over the course of the next nine years, publishers continued to seek relief

from government regulation in the courts, and Elisha Hanson continued to attempt to find a court which would accept his notion of First Amendment protection for the labor and business practices of the newspaper industry. In 1944, *Editor and Publisher* applauded Hanson's continued effort:

> He seems to be the only attorney of record who has a keen sense of the appreciation of the free press principle, which is not on the books for the protection of publishers and editors but because it is a fundamental right of the people.[40]

But judges and justices at every level of the federal court system rejected Hanson's First Amendment claim. He argued in at least five law suits brought by publishers of small newspapers against the Fair Labor Standards Act that the wage and hour record reporting requirement of the FLSA violated freedom of the press. FLSA record keeping and reporting, he argued, was a burden on the processes of gathering and disseminating information, and thereby prevented publishers from fulfilling their role as trustees of the people's freedom of the press.[41]

Finally, in 1946, one year after the Supreme Court soundly rejected a claim of First Amendment protection from anti-trust law made by Hanson and the AP in *Associated Press v. United States,*[42] the Court put the final nail in Hanson's attempt to create First Amendment protection from labor regulation. Using strong language, Justice Wiley B. Rutledge rebuked Hanson and the Oklahoma Press Publishing Company:

> Coloring almost all of petitioner's position, as we understand them, is a primary misconception that the First Amendment knocks out any possible application of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the business of publishing and distributing newspapers . . . . The Amendment does not forbid this or other regulations which end in no restraint upon expression . . . .[43]

Conclusion

The ANPA's First Amendment claims of the 1930s and 1940s have been rightly criticized. The organization was out of touch with changing concepts of liberty and freedom and continued to cling to old notions of economic liberty. As general counsel for the ANPA, Elisha Hanson aggressively used the First Amendment as part of efforts to shield the newspaper industry from government regulation of labor practices and from taxation. In briefs and oral arguments, he advocated a view of freedom of the press which, if accepted by jurists, would have carved out First Amendment protection for the business and economic aspects of the newspaper industry.

Hanson was not alone in his crusade. Robert R. McCormick, the publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, and others carried freedom of the press banners, but Hanson crafted the legal arguments before the judges and justices who interpreted the First Amendment. He had little success in creating freedom for the business of the press, but his use of the rationales of objectivity, a public trustee role of the press, and the press as a gatherer and disseminator of in-

formation became part of the case law which defines the meaning of freedom of the press.

NOTES

[1]For example, *Giragi v. Moore, 301 U.S. 670 (1937); The Press Company v. NLRB*, 313 U.S. 595 (1941); *Sun Publishing v. Walling*, 140 F 2d 445 (C.C.A. 6th, 1944); *Fleming v. Lowell Sun Co., 36 F. Supp. 320 (D.C. Mass, 1940); Oklahoma Press Publishing Co. v. Walling*, 327 U.S. 186 (1946); *Walling v. Newsprint Co.* 148 F. 2d. 57 (C.C.A. 2d., 1945).

[2]297 U.S. 233 (1936).

[3]301 U.S. 103 (1937).

[4]In the early years of the Hughes Court, Chief Justice Hughes and Associate Justice Owen Roberts were considered the swing votes between the conservative bloc of Justices George Sutherland, Pierce Butler, Willis Van Devanter, and J.C. McReynolds, and the liberal bloc of Justices Louis Brandeis, Harlan F. Stone, and initially Oliver Wendell Holmes, then Benjamin Cardozo. After the Wagner Act Cases in 1937, the conservative bloc began to leave the court, and in 1941, McReynolds, the last of the four, left the court.

[5]"Laws Enlarge Huey Long's Realm," New York *Times* (Dec. 26, 1934) Sec II, p. 1.

[6]*American Press Co. v. Grosjean*, 10 F. Supp. 161 (D.C. La. 1935).

[7]"Long Pushes Bill For Tax on Press," New York *Times* (July 4, 1934), p. 10.

[8]10 F. Supp. 161. The tax was scheduled to go into effect on October 1, 1934, but the court granted a preliminary restraining order prior to that date.

[9]"Louisiana Lawyer," *Time* (Feb. 24, 19[illegible] pp. 49-50; 10 F. Supp. 161, 163 (1935); "Brief for the American Press Co. Respondent," in #303 *Grosjean v. American Press* (1936), p. 36.

[10]"No Newspaper Tax," *Business Week* (April 8, 1935) pp. 12, 14.

[11]"Brief for American Press Co.," pp. 238-239.

[12]*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton 316, 427 (1819).

[13]"Brief for the American Press Co.," p. 237.

[14]See note 1 above.

[15]"NLRB Order Defied On Press Freedom," *Editor and Publisher*, (Dec, 3, 1937) p. 6.

[16]Elisha Hanson, "Life, Liberty and Property," *Vital Speeches of the Day* (February 1938), p. 254.

[17]*Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U.S. 113 (1877). Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite held that the states could regulate businesses whose activity was "affected with the public inerest."

[18]Hanson, "Life, Liberty and Property," p. 254.

[19]*Abrams v. United States*, 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919).

[20]"Free to Print Without Taxation," *The Literary Digest* (Feb. 22, 1936), p. 17.; "Long's Tax to Curb Press Voided by Supreme Court; N.Y. Milk Price Law Upheld," New York *Times* (Feb. 11, 1936), p. 1; see also A.T. Mason *The Supreme Court from Taft to Burger*, 1979, p. 222 "The wonder was that the justices were not only unanimous, but that Justice Sutherland, appointed by President Harding, was the Court's spokesman."

In 1931 the conservative bloc had dissented in *Near v. Minnesota* 283 U.S. 697 (1931), when for the first time the Supreme Court overturned a state statute as a violation of the First Amendment.

[21]297 U.S. 233, 250 (1936).

[22]283 U.S. 697 (1931).

[23]301 U.S. 670 (1937).

[24]*Ibid*; see also "Fight Sales Tax On Papers," *Editor and Publisher*, (March 28, 1937) p. 13. "U.S. Supreme Court Finds 'Licensing' Tax Valid," *Editor and Publisher*, (May 7, 1938) p. 4.

[25]"President's 'Rebuke' Stirs Publishers Ire," *Literary Digest* (March 4, 1934), p. 7; "NRA's Code-Making Machinery Meets Test," *Literary Digest* (Dec. 15, 1934), p. 5; "Freedom of the Press and the Publishers' Code," *Literary Digest* (Aug. 26, 1933), p. 7.

[26]*Collective Bargaining in the Newspaper Industry* (Washington, D.C., 1939), pp. 151-153; *Literary Digest* (Dec. 14, 1934), p. 5.

[27]*Schechter v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935).

[28]*Collective Bargaining*, pp. 160-162; "Freedom of the Press at State, Says AP," New York *Times* (January 23, 1937), p. 15; Richard C. Courtner, *The Wagner Act Cases*, (Knoxville, 1964), pp. 126-127; *NLRB v. Associated Press*, 85 F. 2d. 56 (C.C.A. 2d, 1936).

[29]"Brief for the Associated Press," in #356 *AP v. NLRB (1937), pp. 97-99.*

[30]"Declares Labor Act Undermines Press,"

New York *Times* (Feb. 3, 1937), p. 9.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32]301 U.S. 103, 104, 131 (1937).

[33]J. Edward Gerald. *The Press and the Constitution 1931-1947* (Minneapolis, 1948). p. 84.

[34]301 U.S. 103, 131-133 (1937).

[35]301 U.S. 103, 134 (1937), Sutherland, J., dissenting.

[36]301 U.S. 103, 137 (1937).

[37]"Newsprint, Labor Chief ANPA Topics." *Editor And Publisher (April 24, 1937), p. 7.*; " *'Wagner Act Ruling Far-Reaching,' Hanson Says Before Publishers," New York Times* (April 23, 1937), p. 16.

[38]"News Without Bias," edt. New york *Times* (July 1, 1937), p. 26; The publishers' meeting is also noted n *Collective Bargaining*, p. 128.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[40]"ANPA in AP Case," *Editor and Publisher*, (April 1, 1944). p. 34

[41]See note 1 above.

[42]326 U.S. 1 (1945).

[43]*Oklahoma Press Publishing v. Walling*. 327 U.S. 186, 192, 194 (1946).

Fritz Goro: Emigré Photojournalist

By C. Zoe Smith

The Great Depression was a time rich with developments in the world of photojournalism, not the least of which was the wave of European photographers who came to the United States to escape Hitler and the Nazis. Although all émigré photojournalists did not follow precisely the same path to this country during the 1930s, there were striking similarities among most of their stories.

The émigrés who came to be associated with Black Star Picture Agency in New York City and/or America's first picture magazine, *Life*, shared a great deal in common: most of them were Jews; most were well educated and well traveled; most came to photojournalism after studying other subjects and after being involved in other professions; most had worked for a variety of publications while moving around Europe; and most emigrated to the United States during the mid-1930s to pursue their careers and make a new life for themselves and their families.

Fritz Goro was typical, a photographer in Europe who made the successful transition into the American picture magazine business. He was a well-educated Jew who came to photography after studying art and working in the editorial departments of Germany's two leading picture magazines.

Trained on the editorial staffs of the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung (BIZ)* and *Münchner Illustrierte Presse (MIP)*, Goro was forced by the political situation in Germany to abandon his career in management. He and his family emigrated to France in 1933. To survive, Goro turned to a second career photography. He discovered he could apply what he had learned in Germany about candid photography to his own photoreportages. Like many fellow Europeans, Goro wanted to emigrate to America, finally arriving in the United States with his wife and son in January 1936. Soon after his arrival, Goro joined Black Star; like so many photographers who fled Hitler Germany, he produced photo essays for the fledgling *Life*. After nearly five years with Black Star, Goro went directly under contract to *Life*. In 1944 he became a *Life* staff photographer, and he remained one for twenty-seven years.

Goro's professional biography provides insight into the situation many German-trained photographers faced during the mid- to late-1930s. Like other émigrés, Goro was determined to survive and continue his career,

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whether it be in his native land or in the United States. After leaving all his worldly possessions behind in Germany, he was interested in earning substantial wages in the United States so he could rebuild his library and record collection while living in a comfortable home in a New York City suburb.

He achieved a number of photographic "firsts" during half a century in the profession and was a pioneer in the field of scientific photography, taking special pride in his awards and honors from scientific groups and photographic associations. Goro was one of an elite group known for excellent scientific and medical photographs. His broad educational background, his discipline, and his innate talent enabled him, and émigrés like him, to move successfully during the late 1930s into the mainstream of the developing American picture magazine business.

Goro in Europe

Goro's early home life in Bremen, Germany, at the turn of the century was rich culturally. "I am a typical product of a German Jewish, highly-educated middle class," he said. "Our main interests were culture: the arts, books, music. My father was a doctor, a general practitioner, and I believe we never had much money, but I never knew — until today I don't know how well or bad we were off. It was a problem that was never discussed with us children, which is typically German. We wouldn't know about material things; so we also had a lot of impractical education."[1]

As a young boy Goro was given a "Brownie" camera. When he was eleven, he won a prize from the German branch of Kodak for a photograph of his father. Although he was interested in photography, he never considered a career as a photographer; instead he wanted to become a graphic artist. Goro studied graphic design and sculpture at the State School of Applied Arts in Berlin, where in 1919 he met Carola ("Greta") Gregor, a sculptor, whom he married five years later. He also studied under Walter Gropius at the Bauhaus in Weimar, and the school's philosophy influenced his work. However, he was too young to appreciate much of what he was exposed to there. "I wish," he said, "I had been older, more mature when I was a student at the Bauhaus."

The death of Goro's father in 1919 and the subsequent years of high inflation forced him to abandon his studies. He knew the art director in the magazine division at the House of Ullstein (a large publishing conglomerate similar to Henry Luce's Time Inc.); so he showed him a sample of his illustrations and advertising copy he had written. Goro's modern portfolio impressed the art director, who hired him in 1924 as a designer/art director/text writer in the corporate publicity office of Ullstein's magazine division. Because of the corporation's size and diversity, Ullstein was, Goro said, the "Sears-Roebuck of publishing — their publications appealed to all tastes."

Most of Ullstein's 12,000 employees were expected to do more than one job. "In German publishing, you had to do everything. Here [in America] you are a writer and do nothing else, but there you make your own drawings, you write your own publicity texts, you do your own layouts. I was inside a small group of very talented young men of my age who could make drawings, who

could write, who could do absolutely *anything*. We could express ourselves. It was great fun. It was a very interesting atmosphere. It was an incredible kind of training in many fields of publishing."

Ullstein employees also were encouraged to freelance within the company for generous additional compensation. Goro and his wife wrote and illustrated articles for various Ullstein publications, including a children's magazine.

After two years in corporate publicity, Goro was "sick" of his job and wanted to earn more money by becoming an editor. He wrote to Kurt Korff, director of Ullstein publications, suggesting ten ideas for *BIZ* articles. Since Goro considered Korff a journalist who was a shy, absolutely unapproachable "genius," he put his ideas in writing rather than speaking directly with Korff. Impressed by some of Goro's suggestions, Korff offered him a huge commission. In 1926, Korff and Kurt Safranski, the magazine division's publisher, asked Goro to join the editorial staff.

As the youngest staff member at the *BIZ* and *Die Dame*, Goro acted as the "contact man" for young German artists and writers. He had been a contact man earlier in the corporate publicity office. In addition to locating and organizing new photographic talent, Goro served as the "idea man" for the younger generation of photographers. From 1926 to 1928, he used his camera mostly to "show other photographers how to take pictures, without mixing with them. It wasn't done. It was against the code. As an editor, it was against the code to compete with the photographers." Nevertheless, Goro became close friends with several photographers, including Dr. Erich Salomon, whom he had met when they worked together in the Ullstein corporate publicity office.

Although Goro was making more money on the editorial staff, in 1928 he decided to leave the company. "After a few years at Ullstein, I figured out that at your first job you're always underpaid," he said. However, his four years there were important: "Just like *Life* later on, it was a *fantastic* training ground for German publishing. It was actually *the* training ground for German publishing because in universities you could not learn journalism; there were no faculties for journalism, and you had to learn like an apprentice — on the job."

Looking for a position on the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Goro contacted the president of the Knorr and Hirth Publishing Co., the largest publishing house in southern Germany. This Munich-based company, like Ullstein, was well known for its newspapers and books and was becoming very successful in magazine publishing. Goro was hired at an "extremely high salary" to be assistant to the company president, Dr. Pflaum. Goro joined the *MIP*'s staff at an exciting time, just as the circulation battle with the *BIZ* began and Stefan Lorant was hired as the new managing editor. "I was a product of a journalistic boom," Goro said. "It was an incredible and inspiring time." The late 1920s were good years for the magazine business because Germany was experiencing a period of relative prosperity. There was great interest in the arts, and mass-circulation picture magazines flourished.

As the talent scout and contact man for artists and the arts at the *MIP*, Goro "discovered" several photographers who went on to become quite

successful, including brothers Georg and Tim Gidal and Fritz Henle, who later joined the staff of *Life*. This new generation of magazine photographers raised the level of professionalism. Photojournalists were not considered by most editors and publishers to be an important part of the creative process. "Newspaper photographers were used as tools in the hands of editors, but they had no standing," Goro said. "Nobody really cared. They were told what to do, even though at this time in Germany there were a large number of very excellent portrait photographers, landscape photographers, and industrial photographers." However, photographers such as Salomon and Martin Munkacsi at the *BIZ* and *Die Dame*, and the group Goro worked with at the *MIP* brought a fresh approach to photoreportage.

This new approach was best summarized by Tim Gidal: "The common denominator shared by the great photoreporters was the combination of (1) talent for observation and the ability to experience and participate intensely, and (2) sensitivity, empathy, and intuition for capturing the essential quality of the whole in the single picture."[2] Much of what these European photographers sought out with the camera was the very thing Gidal found himself shooting: "how does man live, how does he fit into his society, and what is the life in this society?"[3]

The new 35mm cameras contributed greatly to the development of this new approach. In Goro's opinion the miniature Leica cameras were the key:

> Picture reportage, the picture story, really is a product of German picture journalism of the time between World War I and Hitler, and it's based on a very strange fact. It's based actually on a single fact — that around 1928 there suddenly became an instrument available which literally seduced them to take photographs for the journalistic world. These were journalistic writers, and they were sent by newspapers and magazines all over the world; and they suddenly had in their pockets a small instrument which could allow them to take pictures of things they were reporting about.

The Leica, according to Goro and others, brought a new type of photographer to the publishing scene: an educated person who might even have a university background. "The difference was similar to the difference between somebody who had gone to Harvard or someone who had started as an apprentice at the [New York] *Daily News*. There was some kind of social difference. That may sound snobbish, but that's the way it was. Suddenly, very intelligent people began to take pictures because there was this strange instrument available – the Leica."

Although it is difficult to give all the credit for the growth of photoreportage to the 35mm camera, this new format was especially appealing because of its portability and versatility. Brawn was no longer a requirement to be a photographer. The miniature camera allowed writers and other educated men and women to photograph inconspicuously, enabling them to catch people in unguarded moments. The new challenges 35mm photography presented attracted a different class of photographers,

which in turn helped to raise the overall status of photography. It was not until a new generation of photographers came on the scene in Germany that the profession gained prestige. This group was well-mannered, fluent in foreign languages, university educated, and members of the bourgeois or aristocratic society who had retained social status even after losing their money and political power after the war.[4]

During his tenure at the *MIP*, Goro worked closely with this new generation of photograhers, learning the photo essay techniques he would later use in his own work. He created several photoreportages which were published in the *MIP*.[5] Although Goro was not officially employed as a photographer, he had the freedom in the early 1930s to shoot feature-oriented assignments, including an essay on Germany's largest Benedictine monastery. Several photographs from this reportage show monks caught in motion – pitching hay, repairing a hose, and hammering a hot iron. Goro also incorporated strong diagonal lines in many frames to create the illusion of depth and to give the image internal motion. The experience he gained on such assignments helped him to produce the photoreportages he needed a few years later to support himself and his family in France.

Goro began working with Stefan Lorant in 1931, soon after Pflaum's death. Pflaum's successor, with whom Goro did not get along, was unimaginative, according to Goro, so he decided to seek a new position. He became assistant managing editor of the *MIP*. Goro worked directly under Lorant, who had been hired in 1928 "to instill a new vigor into the style and content" of the *MIP*.[6] Although Goro did not like Lorant, he believed Lorant had a special gift as an editor. "Professionally, I think he was one of the best picture editors of this time that ever was. I found him to be fair and a very talented journalist. I think he made out of the *MIP* a more lively magazine than the *BIZ* was, and it was really a dangerous competitor to the *BIZ*. He could make layouts; he could take pictures; he could do absolutely anything." As Lorant's assistant, Goro learned a great deal about editing from contact sheets to make cohesive photoreportages.

In the early 1930s while Goro was working with Lorant in Munich, Germany was experiencing the economic repercussions of the U.S. stock market crash. As the depression in Germany deepened and unemployment grew, the National Socialist Party gained strength and popular support among the masses. The German press revealed its critical weaknesses during the crisis, and it "mirrored the mood and condition of the country – confusion, uncertainty, and fear, and the clash of irreconcilable parties and ideologies."[7] Like his fellow Germans, Goro watched Hitler and other prominent Nazis rise to power, but he did not then appreciate what was about to happen in his homeland.

"Many of us [Jews] were completely apolitical," Goro said. "It was our big mistake to be apolitical. But the German middle class, especially the German Jewish middle class, never knew what was going on in politics. And Hitler was a phenomenon which was not understood." Between 1928 and 1931, the Nazis frequented a café in Munich's Englischer Garten where Goro and his colleagues from Knorr and Hirth regularly gathered. Goro recalled:

> We saw Hitler daily, and we made jokes about him. We thought: 'What a clown,' instead of knowing what was ahead. This is a really incredible story. We didn't take him seriously. And many German Jews – who were very German by the way, great German patriots – they could never really understand Nazism. They didn't leave Germany because they said to themselves: 'We have never been anything in politics. What can he do to me?' You know what happened. We were the victims of this clown because of our bourgeois shortsightedness . . . . It would have been very simple to kill all of them with a bomb or a pistol. In five minutes I could have killed all the people who caused the death of millions of people. But of course it never occurred to us – [to kill Hitler]. No violence ever.

When the Nazis took over Knorr and Hirth on March 14, 1933, Goro was fortunate to be out of the country, thus avoiding arrest. Recovering from a bout with pneumonia, Goro had gone with his wife to a sanitorium in the Austrian mountains near the Swiss border. He called his office to see if he should return to work. "I was so stupidly naive politically that my first idea was: 'Who's going to make the next issue of the *Müncher Illustrierte Presse*?' " A perceptive secretary told Goro he still sounded ill and should stay in Austria until fully recovered. A Knorr and Hirth photographer went to the sanitorium a few days later to explain that the entire top management had been arrested and jailed in Munich.

Goro knew he should not return to Germany, but his young son, Tom, was still in a boarding school in Munich and had to be rescued. His wife returned to Germany on a slow-moving train and was met at the Munich station by friends who advised her to go to the school without stopping to see other friends or visiting their home. Greta and Tom returned to Austria without incident. Thus, the Goros began their new life as refugees with just 200 marks, some skiing equipment, the clothes they had taken to the sanitorium, and two Leicas.

They left Tyrol and went to Vienna, but could not find work. In the meantime, Goro was officially fired from his *MIP* position on April 1, 1933. Unable to secure a lawyer to try to obtain any of his possessions, he lost everything, including family heirlooms and an extensive book collection. Their short time in Vienna became more bearable when Greta's relatives in the United States sent money.

The Leica played a part in Goro's decision to become a professional photographer. Joining many other refugees in Paris, the Goros first considered starting a picture agency in April 1933 but lacked the necessary capital. They then decided to pursue photography full time, relying on Goro's experience at the *BIZ* and *MIP* and his brief experience as a freelancer. It was the lightweight and versatile Leica that made possible a new aproach to reportage – an approach which had made Salomon world famous – which attracted them to photography. "I would not have become a photographer without the invention of the Leica," Goro said. "I probably would have

become a designer or something like that."

Once in Paris, Goro contacted picture agents and American acquaintances. He received assignments and freelanced for a variety of French magazines, including *Vu*, *La Journal*, and *Vogue*. But fees were paid late, if at all. "Materially, Paris was very bad except it was very nice to live in Paris even without money. It is the only city in the world where you can do this – enjoy life without money. We were professionally very successful, except those bastards – French publishers and editors – never paid anything. It took a year, year and a half, to get any money out of them. Absolutely awful conditions."

The arrival of a gift of $100 from Greta's relatives in America prompted the Goros to consider moving to another part of France where the money would go farther than in Paris. In September they moved to Brittany, a reasonably priced area during the off-season. There they ate inexpensive seafood and photographed the French countryside and fishing villages they passed as they rode along the coast on rented bicycles.

Following the new style of photographing "common life," Goro spent time on the Guerande peninsula in southern Brittany. His photographs showed ordinary Bretons earning their living from the sea: obtaining salt from sea water, harvesting black mollusks from the walls of concrete tanks, raising edible black mussels, and catching sardines. These photographs exemplify Goro's sensitivity to the graphic qualities of the photographic image, using strong diagonal lines to give the composition depth. His reportage included street scenes of a fisherman auctioning off his day's catch, the sacking of mussels for shipment to city markets, the drying and repairing of fishing nets, and shoppers clustered around street merchants on market day. These candid photographs, taken with a Leica, show a wide range of everyday activities from intriguing camera angles, including a dramatic view down at the Guerande street from a second-story location. In June 1937 *National Geographic* published twenty-three of these photographs plus captions over sixteen pages with Goro's credit line on each page.[8] He was paid $125 for his work, his first *major* sale after moving to the United States.

While living in Brittany, Goro photographed the largest ship in the world, the "Normandie." To emphasize the human element of this massive building project, his photoreportage featured a French crane operator working on the ship. With the help of his Paris picture agent, this reportage turned into one of Goro's most successful freelance ventures. In 1934 this essay on the "Normandie" appeared in several European publications, including the *Illustrated London News*, a weekly magazine.

After the Goros returned to Paris with the money from the sale of the "Normandie" essay, they tried to obtain visas to emigrate to the United States. Their American relatives told them it would be easier to help support them if they all lived in the same country. However, the Goros had difficulties in obtaining visas from the American consulate in Paris. Goro blamed his trouble on an American consul he suspected was a Nazi. "Each time he asked for new kinds of papers and he procrastinated, and when I got the papers he invented some other papers. We couldn't get a visa from him. The main reason was that we didn't have any cash reserves . . . .We had nothing; so we were considered a very bad risk."

To circumvent the system, Goro consulted an acquaintance, Leland Stowe, an American scientist and editor of the Paris *Herald Tribune* whom he had met while on assignment for *Vu*. Stowe introduced Goro to the American general consul, and the Goros got their visas directly through him. Late in 1935 they gained permission to leave France for the United States. The head of the French shipping line — who was "crazy about photographs of the ocean, of ships" — arranged for the Goros to have a luxury suite on the "Isle de France" for the lowest fare possible.

Goro in America

Goro's arrival in New York City in January 1936 was a traumatic experience, as it was for most émigrés. At the age of thrity-five, he was adopting yet another home. His new country and the financial struggle he and his family faced overwhelmed him. Although he did not know English, he learned the language quickly, as did his wife. They lived for a short time with Greta's relatives and then moved to a fifth-floor walkup on 96th street. The Goro's paid $37.50 a month for an apartment and converted one of its two rooms into a darkroom where Greta printed the photographs she made of "spoiled brats" of some middle-class New York families. Later, to help pay their son's tuition at a progressive private school, Greta took portraits of its students.

Goro moved to resume his own career as a photographer by contacting his former boss at the *BIZ*, Kurt Korff, who was working then as a consultant to Time Inc.'s Experimental Department. With Korff's assistance, he made his first sale in the United States to *Time*. It was also during his first months in the United States that he sold his first photo essay, the series "Where Bretons Wrest a Living from the Sea" published in the *National Geographic*.

Because of his association with Kurt Safranski at the *BIZ*, Goro also contacted Black Star Picture Agency. Soon afterwards he was under contract to the agency and quickly became acquainted with the American magazine market. His wife, who retained "Carola Gregor" as her professional name, also sold some photographs through Black Star. However, her photographic career soon was overshadowed by her husband's.

Goro had mixed feelings toward Black Star. The agency was a great help in introducing him and his wife to the American magazine market, and offered them the opportunity to associate with other talented photographers, including Andreas Feininger, Walter Sanders, Fritz Henle, and W. Eugene Smith. On the other hand, the agency's commission made it impossible to get ahead financially. Goro remembers the commission to be fifty percent, but Black Star co-owner Ernest Mayer says the commission was between thirty and forty percent. Goro believed the agency exploited him:

> It was really an *incredible* collection of talented people and they [Black Star] lost us all . . . . They lost us, I think, because of the fact how a picture agency has to be structured. Having a picture agency means having a great administrative apparatus; you have to keep pictures around, which means you need a lot of space. You need employees, offices — all of this is very ex-

> pensive. It means having a picture agency costs a lot of money and probably you need a lot of capital. They were sort of forced, maybe against their will because they were very nice people, to exploit us. And I felt exploited! They sort of wanted to impress the editors of this new magazine [*Life*] by having very good but very inexpensive photographers.

However, Goro benefitted directly from the agency's policy of paying a monthly guarantee against photo sales when an automobile accident in 1936 kept him out of work for approximately a year. Goro was in the middle of a freelance assignment for an advertising agency when the accident occurred; his wife finished it for him. As he recuperated from his leg injury, Black Star paid him each month even though he could not go on assignment. However, he then owed a large debt to the agency when he returned to work.

"I was bitter because I couldn't pay my rent on time," he admitted. "I couldn't pay my phone bill on time. I had tremendous debts to Black Star and to the hospital. We had borrowed money. We never had any money. I had been busy as hell, but couldn't pay the rent. I had the feeling of severe bitterness, and I didn't like them anymore — for material reasons. I felt exploited."

In 1937, still wearing a cast from his accident, Goro was sent by Black Star to photograph human brain waves for a *Life* layout.[9] That year he went on to produce numerous essays for *Life* on a wide range of topics, including the Harvard Library, how steam turbines are constructed, summer theatre in New England, scientists who studied fruit flies and sea-urchin cells, and ice skating at Rockefeller Plaza.[10] The photographs illustrated Goro's versatility, his attempt to incorporate unposed moments whenever possible, and his eye for unusual camera angles.

A coincidence, during two feature assignments for *Life* in the summer of 1937, turned out to be the pivotal point where Goro's career turned to science photography. While photographing the Cape Cod Summer Theatre [11] and providing photographs to illustrate an article on the book *The Great Beach*, Goro was called by a *Life* editor and asked to stay in the area to do two additional stories on a group of scientists at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Massachusetts.[12]

Meeting some of the world's greatest scientists at Woods Hole stimulated Goro's life-long interest in science. At the age of thirty-six, he took yet another turn in his career. Naive but curious about scientific subjects, Goro went on in his long career to make "a lot of pictures a professional photographer would never have done because he would have said it was absolutely out of the question; it could not be done. But I did it. I swim against the stream constantly."

Life soon offered him the opportunity to specialize, to become a photographic expert in science reporting. Up to that point, Goro considered himself an all-around magazine photographer, handling a range of human interest stories. But the experience at Woods Hole convinced him that scientific stories could be his speciality. He continued to cover a broad range of topics for Black Star, but the editors at *Life* sought him out when a

scientific assignment arose. *Life* became the primary outlet for Goro's photographs, although Black Star did place some of his work in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

The agency's handling of a particular story in 1938 convinced him — in retrospect — he was financially exploited and should do work directly for *Life*. Black Star sent him to photograph a political organization in Canada which was sympathetic to the Nazis. As a Jew, he took a risk photographing this anti-Semitic group over a ten-day period, and he reported the group to the U.S. State Department upon returning to New York. His essay was published anonymously in *Life* on July 18.[13] There was a candid quality to several of the images, especially those in which the subject was caught gesturing while talking. *Life* editors used the photoreportage as the issue's opening three-page spread and ran several large photographs. Following the story's publication, members of the organization were arrested by the Canadian government.

The story was a "journalistic coup" in light of Americans' growing awareness of anti-Semitism in Europe, but Black Star treated it like any other story, according to Goro. "At this time there was so much money at *Life*. They would have paid $1,000 for the story. They didn't care how much they paid. *Life* never cared about money for twenty-five years." Goro said he was paid $125 by the agency. "Because of the strange arrangement with Black Star, with expenses being shared for flashbulbs which I used in large amounts and film developing in a custom lab, I had tremendous expenses for that story. I figured out one day that my net profit on this story . . . was $7.50."

Given Goro's general unhappiness with Black Star and his excellent publication record at *Life*, it is not surprising that when his agency contract ran out in 1940 *Life* editors were willing to put him directly under contract to the magazine. Goro might have moved up to staff photographer position in a few years, but he was not a U.S. citizen when the country entered World War II.

He and other émigré photographers such as Andreas Feininger, Herbert Gehr, and Walter Sanders had their cameras confiscated for a few weeks after the invasion of Pearl Harbor, but resumed work soon afterwards. However, the émigrés were not permitted to handle potentially sensitive assignments involving anything vaguely connected to national security or the war effort. Nevertheless, their names remained on the masthead and they continued to receive other assignments. In the August 7, 1944, issue of *Life* Goro's name was officially added to the masthead under the list of staff photographers.

During his twenty-seven years at *Life*, Goro became well known for his scientific and medical stories. Working on these specific reportages probably was the best outlet for Goro's creative abilities because of the constant challenge they presented to him. Realizing science was considered by the public to be dull, boring, and visually uninteresting when he began specializing at *Life*, Goro looked for the human element in each story as well as the interesting visual aspects of the scientific research. He regularly included a portrait of the man or woman behind the research, and frequently his subjects' hands were shown turning dials or holding instruments.

Goro clearly believed he had the talent to capture the essence of com-

plicated stories on film; Dora Jane Hamblin, former *Life* researcher, agreed. Describing Goro as one of the magazine's "memorable" photographers, Hamblin said he was

> a small and patient German-born perfectionist who could translate the most obscure thought or discovery into meticulous, understandable photographs . . . . Goro turned out a stream of impossibilities. One of his most complex was an explanation of how the laser beam works.[14]

Former managing editor Edward K. Thompson agreed with this appraisal, stating that Goro was "the best there was. He understood what he was doing before he would even tackle an assignment."[15]

Goro's technical precision was a characteristic shared by many of the émigré photographers trained in Europe.[16] Before going on assignment Goro did his "homework," becoming familiar with the scientist's work so he could speak his language. Within a short time, Goro felt he was an equal among the scientists whose work he photographed for *Life*. He believed he gained their respect by working in the same manner they did: carefully, thoroughly, and meticulously. For Goro, it was his moral and ethical duty to satisfy the scientists with whom he worked; he would rather disappoint his editor than disappoint a scientist.

Like the scientists, Goro considered himself a pioneer, identifying more closely with the scientists than with artists:

> There is great satisfaction to be with scientists, and satisfaction for me to be an instrument of communication. I don't want to be an artist. It is understood that I mastered a large number of photographic techniques. I have a great satisfaction with having become in a small way an *instrument* of communication between the strange, difficult-to-understand world of research and the public.

Goro worked hard to earn the respect of the scientists. "They have to accept my work and me," Goro said. Without their cooperation, he could not have completed his many *Life* essays because of his need for access to their laboratories, their instruments, and their time and expertise. Unlike photographers on some other assignments who could roam and photograph at will, Goro was completely dependent upon his subjects' belief in his ability as a photographer.

The scientific community accommodated Goro even before he joined the *Life* staff. In one instance a doctor at the University of Chicago worked forty-eight hours with him to produce the first still photograph of capillary circulation. Goro was given the use of the Pupin Physics Laboratory at Columbia University for eighteen months to produce several photoreportages, including an eighteen-page essay in 1949, "The Atom, A Layman's Primer of What the World Is Made Of." When Goro photographed the atomic bomb tests on Bikini, he was there as a member of the military-scientific task force,

on loan from *Life* to the government at full salary, rather than as a regular member of the press corps.

Goro's acceptance in the scientific community brought numerous honors and opportunities, including appointment as visual consultant to a neurophysiological teaching project at the School of Medicine at the University of California in San Diego. He was appointed to a Regents Professorship at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at the University of California in La Jolla and to an adjunct professorship at the Marine Sciences Research Center at State University of New York in Stony Brook. Goro was a visiting fellow at Yale and a fellow of the Biological Photographic Association and the New York Microscopical Society. The American Association of Magazine Photographers awarded Goro the Lifetime Achievement Award in 1978.

This dual respect from the scientific community and from his colleagues in photjournalism represented the new status attainable by professional photographers in the United States. When Goro arrived in this country early in 1936, working photographers were not highly regarded. "It was much more reputable to be a photographer in Germany than a photojournalist in America at the time I arrived," he explained. The American picture magazines of the late 1930s and 1940s helped elevate the status of professional photographers; in complementary fashion, the professionalism which Goro, Feininger, Philippe Halsman, Nina Leen, W. Eugene Smith, Alfred Eisenstaedt, and other photographers brought to *Life* helped make it the greatest picture magazine in the United States.

Goro's concern for professionalism was evident in the fall of 1944 when he met with some colleagues to discuss the formation of a new organization — the American Society of Magazine Photographers. Along with fellow émigrés Halsman, Feininger, and Fritz Henle, as well as Smith, Arthur Rothstein, William Vandivert, and John Adam Knight, Goro became one of the first members of the ASMP. During its history the ASMP has established guidelines and a minimum on rates and rights for professional photographers.

Goro's Contributions to Life

Although he was important in developing the techniques of scientific photography and in raising the status of professional photographers, Goro's most important role was that of a *Life* photographer. It was while working with *Life* that Goro and his fellow émigrés introduced a new approach to American magazine photography. Managing editor Edward K. Thompson acknowledged that *Life* owed a great deal of its success to Goro and his fellow émigré photographers.[17] They had several important qualities to offer the magazine's editors:

— the émigrés were outsiders examining America for the first time, their cameras offering a fresh look at institutions, people, and places;

— the émigrés came from varied backgrounds, and most were well educated and involved in other professions before becoming photographers; their interests were wide ranging; and

— the émigrés had been exposed to the European picture magazines, both

from the producer and consumer standpoint, which gave them experience with the candid style and photoreportages.

Like Goro, Maitland Edey, former assistant managing editor of *Life* and author of *Great Photographic Essays From Life*,[18] credited the émigrés with bringing the Leica and candid style of photography to the United States:

> [T]he candid style itself – more than any individual expression of it – was what, in my opinion, was the greatest contribution of German photographers in the 1930s. They were following the track of Salomon; and the new cameras, with their potential for candid coverage of news, was what attracted *Life*, and made its breezy, close-in multi-exposure coverage of the news possible. The 35mm format also made film cheap, which encouraged much more lavish use of it by photographers, which, in turn, produced large takes, which in turn suggested the buildup of takes into multi-picture stories. That was a *Life* innovation here – it had already started in Europe, of course.
>
> In short, *Life* saw what was being done and what was possible, and commissioned people to go out and do the same. The interests and the styles of the individual photographers grew out of that opportunity: Goro and Vishniac as scientific workers, for example.[19]

The émigrés offered *Life* great versatility, while, at the same time, many of them became specialists. Feininger, for one, concentrated on landscapes and cityscapes, rarely turning his camera on individuals. Dmitri Kessel retained his larger-than-life style of photography from his early years as an industrial photographer even when he broadened the scope of his subject matter.[20]

In return for their efforts, the company offered them more than good salaries; it gave them a package of benefits few could pass up. Goro found *Life* to be a "fantastic organization" that provided him the opportunity to take as much time on an assignment as he needed. The editors had enough confidence in their photographers and reporters to trust them to get the story, even if months were needed to do the job, as was the case near the end of World War II when Goro produced the first photographs of plutonium.

"It was an incredible relationship between the photographers and the management," Goro said of *Life*'s operation. "We were all sort of a fraternity . . . . We all now are conscious of the fact that in the history of journalism, this had never happened before – this trust in the journalist, the photographer, the writer, the researcher, and also the readiness of spending the most incredible sums of money. This money is not there anymore. You have no idea how expensive and risky it is to do this."

The reputation *Life* developed helped it become "the" place for a magazine photographer to be published in the 1940s and 1950s, especially with the added power of Time Inc. behind the magazine. In addition to a "club" atmosphere and a seemingly unlimited expense account, Goro and his colleagues had access to a complete support staff, which freed them from

routine tasks.[21] Because the magazine was published every week, photographers did not have to wait long to see their work, and *Life* editors gave photographs good play. The company even had a profit-sharing program. *Life* treated its employees, especially the photographers, well. In turn, the photographers became fiercely loyal to the organization. "God the Photographer" – the title of a chapter in Hamblin's book – suggests just how much status they attained at *Life*.

Considering the advantages the company offered, it is not surprising the magazine's management was able to lure Goro and others away from Black Star and other picture agencies. Mayer and his partners could not compete with *Life* for long. Once a photographer established a reputation as a competent and talented professional, *Life* editors encouraged him to work directly for the magazine. Leon Daniels and Franz Furst at Pix Picture Agency in New York City also lost established photographers who wanted to avoid paying agency commissions. Nevertheless, they introduced editors to a steady stream of talented photographers who were familiar with 35mm photography and the style of photoreportage pioneered in the *BIZ* and *MIP*.

During his twenty-seven years with the magazine, Goro covered a wide range of assignments. He produced essays on the anthropology of primitive people, archaeology, palaentology, geology, geophysics, oceanography and marine biology, genetics and genetic manipulation, plant physiology and animal behavior, medicine, psychiatry, and mental health. Goro went on several expeditions to the Arctic and Antarctic, the interior of Australia, and the islands of the Western Pacific. The first extensive journalistic coverage of the Canadian tundra, involving seven weeks of only radio contact with the outside world, was undertaken in 1953 by Goro and reporter James Goode.

Much of what Goro did at *Life* involved "firsts" in still photography. He was the first to show the fission of a uranium atom, blood circulating in living animals, pitchblende mining (the source of uranium), and laser beams. One author summarized his determination and ingenuity:

> Goro has a reputation for doing the impossible with his photography, and lack of existing technology has never been a deterrent. If there is not a camera made to photograph a particular minute or inaccessible subject, Goro will construct one. His achievements have been a boon to both scientists and laymen.[22]

Conclusions

This professional biography provides a model of the German-trained European who overcame the hardships of emigration to establish a successful career in the United States. When Goro arrived in this country, the valuable training he had received on two of Germany's most prestigious and successful picture magazines enabled him to make important contributions to America's first picture magazine.

His European training taught him to be disciplined, thoughtful, and thorough – characteristics he shared with many of his fellow émigré

photographers. Like the others, he had a talent for detail, could cover a broad range of assignments, and knew how to translate even the most complicated issues into photographs a mass audience could appreciate.

Goro's ability brought him great personal success and recognition as a photojournalist. Yet, many of the turning points in his life happened because he was a member of a special group at a special time in history: German Jew, highly educated, with a broad cultural background, limited financial resources, and experience with the German illustrated magazines.

Like many of his fellow émigré photographers, Goro brought with him a new attitude about photography and an approach to photojournalism that emphasized the importance of everyday life as well as more traditional subjects such as the rich and powerful. Even these traditional subjects were presented by the émigrés in a different light thanks to the newly developed "miniature" camera, which allowed unguarded moments to be captured on film. American magazine readers could suddenly go behind the scenes of public events with the photojournalist, seeing aspects of the world previously out of their purview.

The photo essay and candid photographs had been well received in the *BIZ* and *MIP* in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and a decade later these innovations were the centerpiece of Luce's *Life*. America's first picture magazine was the result of neither undiluted American ingenuity nor the wholesale transfer of European professionals — like Goro — to the sidewalks of New York City. Instead, the new style of photojournalism in *Life* resulted from blending the ideas of many talented American editors and experienced émigrés photojournalists.

NOTES

[1]All quotes from Fritz Goro are taken from two interviews I conducted with him, unless otherwise noted. The first took place in the Time-Life Building in New York City on May 9, 1979. The second interview took place at his home in Chappaqua, N.Y., on March 12, 1980. Both interviews were tape recorded.

[2]Tim Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York, 1972): p. 27.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]Giséle Freund, *Photography & Society* (Boston, 1980): pp. 113, 118, and 124.

[5]For example, see the following in the *MIP*: "Ein Stiller Tag," 9 (July 3, 1932), pp. 714-15; "Monche Erobern Neuland," 9 (Sept. 25, 1932), pp. 1051-53; "Zug ins Unbekannte Land," 9 (Sept. 25, 1932), p. 1077; and "Diamantene Hochzeit," 9 (Oct. 16, 1932), p. 1073.

[6]Gidal, p. 17.

[7]Oron J. Hale, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), p. 13.

[8]Fritz Goro, "Where Bretons Wrest a Living from the Sea," *National Geographic* 71 (June 1937): pp. 751-66.

[9]See "Brain Waves of Mental Cases Like Those of Sleepers," *Life* 3 (Oct. 18, 1937): pp. 56-58.

[10]See the following essays in *Life*: "Best University Library: Harvard's," 3 (June 7, 1937), p. 74; "Highly-Efficient Steam Turbines Make 70% of U.S. Power," 3 (Oct. 25, 1937), pp. 64-66; "Theatre Goes 'Straw Hat' in Summer," 3 (Aug. 23, 1937), pp. 28-35; "Dr. Morgan's Fruit Flies Explain Heredity," 3 (Sept. 13, 1937), p. 69; and "New Life is Created without Sex," 3 (Sept. 13, 1937), pp. 70-72.

[11]See "Theatre Goes 'Straw Hat' in Summer," *Life*.

[12]See "Life Goes to a Party with Picnicking Scientists on Penikese Island," *Life*, 3 (Sept. 27, 1937), pp. 114-16.

[13]See his fourteen-picture essay titled "Canadian Fascists Give Dominion a Headache and Opponents the Bum's Rush," *Life* 5 (July 18, 1938), pp. 9-11.

[14]Dora Jane Hamblin, *That Was The Life* (New York, 1977), pp. 55, 59.

[15]Edward K. Thompson, interview at his office in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., Nov. 23, 1979.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]Maitland Edey, *Great Photographic Essays From Life* (Boston, 1978).

[19]Maitland Edey to author, Nov. 8, 1979.

[20]Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York, 1952), p. 90.

[21]Hamblin.

[22]Dorian Rogers, "Fritz Goro," *Print* 33 (July/August 1979), p. 58. Also see Leonard Lessin, "Science Journalist with a Camera," *Photomethods* 25 (May 1982), pp. 82-88.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Best of Pulitzer Prize News Writing. *By W. David Sloan, Valarie McCrary and Johanna Cleary.* Columbus, Ohio: Publishing Horizons, Inc., 1986.

The Pulitzer Prize. Those are magic words for journalists. In fiction the Pulitzer's status as a register of the very best is dubious, and under regular attack; not so in journalism. Although there are excellent stories each year that do not win, there is little doubt that those that do are worthy. In the news writer's profession, the Pulitzer Prize is the Nobel Prize. Yet strangely enough, collections of prize-winning stories are scarce. I checked my own university library, which has a million and a half volumes, and found only the well-known anthology compiled by John Hohenberg, which assembles stories, editorials, cartoons, and photographs conveniently. But I found no volume of news storis alone, such as this one put together by W. David Sloan, Valarie McCrary, and Johanna Cleary. These editors have therefore done the general public, journalism teachers and students a service by putting seventy-one splendid stories between book covers and adding some helpful introductory material. They have chosen to give us the best writing, rather than the most remarkable reporting, though it is obvious that the two often coincide. In fact, the reporting in all of these stories – the observation of significant detail, the interviewing, the researching – is clearly first-rate, too.

The first selection in the book, Kirke L. Simpson's piece on the burial of the Unknown Soldier after World War I, is a bold one, for surely many journalists, most notably Ernest Hemingway, would find its adjectives too frequent, its language too lush. Yet the Simpson piece, which must have been done under some deadline pressure, is a fine feat of organizing a narrative and sustaining a tone of solemnity, even reverence. It is the tone known in literature as the High Style and we don't see it very often, anywhere, anymore. Its success must be judged in the light of the context of the story, which was a time of national mourning akin to that for John F. Kennedy, but also of bitterness over America's involvement in the mass slaughter that was World War I.

"Under the wide and starry skies of his own homeland America's unknown dead from France sleeps tonight, a soldier home from the war." That lead by Simpson is justifiably famous among journalists, but consider also a passage chosen almost at random from a later section. The writer is describing the crowds – and please note the verbs.

"They line the long road from the Capitol to the hillside where he sleeps tonight; they flowed like a tide over the slopes about his burial place; they choked the bridges that lead across the river to the fields of the brave, in which he is the last comer." Those final three words, with their touch of contrasting colloquial, are telling. Simpson's accomplishment is all the more extraordinary in that he was a writer for the Associated Press, which in those days specialized in reliable, colorless prose, and gave out no bylines. Simpson's prose was anything but colorless, and by popular demand from

newspaper editors, he got a byline. According to AP legend, it was the first ever given.

In dramatic contrast to Simpson's royal purple is the simplicity of A.M. Rosenthal's "There is No News From Auschwitz." As if to show that no solmenity of language could express the depths of the horror of his subject, Rosenthal concentrates on contrasting the terrible details of an Auschwitz tour – the piles of children's shoes, the suffocation cells – with the ordinary details of new life in the flowering countryside: "There is nothing new to report about Auschwitz. It was a sunny day and the trees were green and at the gates the children played."

One of the problems the editors must have faced is that great news writing tends to be about serious subjects; labor conflict, war, terrible diseases, the scandals of mental hospitals, the trail of a tornado. They have managed to salt the collection, however, with a number of stories that change the mood and mingle smiles – if only ironic ones – with the seriousness. Mirima Ottenberg's account of the used-car salesman's shuffle is one such. Another is the 1930 interview of Stalin's mother by H.R. Knickerbocker. It is a gem of irony.

"Soso was always a good boy," says the mother of one of the most ruthless dictators in history. "Excuse me – who is Soso?" asks Knickerbocker. "Soso? Why, that's my son Joseph." Ottenberg, too, gets many of her effects through dialogue, a technique that doesn't show "good writing" as obviously as the many passages of brilliant description and driving narration in these pages.

There is abundance here: the sustained tone of controlled indignation in Charles Stafford's piece on scientology in Florida; the structure of fantastic contrasts in "The Two Worlds of Linda Fitzpatrick," by J. Anthony Lukas, the gripping first-person account by Nan Robertson of her life-and-death struggle with toxic shock syndrome; Harrison Salisbury's thriller about the seventy-eight hours when the sinister Lavrenti Beria, head of what is now the K.G.B., "held Russia in the hollow of his pudgy hand"; Richard Ben Cramer's brilliant imagery in describing the scene in Israeli-occupied Lebanon.

There is more to take from this anthology than just a series of impressions of powerful writing, however. We find that the newspapers before World War II tended to give more space to their best writers, except for the magazine pieces of the present day. The multi-authored story on the American Legion parade of 1931 in Detroit is far longer than such a story would be today, where television gives the pictures directly that these writers tried to paint with words. Similarly, other stories from before 1940 show writers using masses of convincing detail in a way seldom seen in recent years.

The introduction seems designed for journalism students, who will probably constitute the bulk of the readership of the book. It makes some good points, the most interesting being the distinction between merely topical unity in a news story and thematic unity. Other sections list familiar characteristics of good news writing such as concrete detail, good characterization, intensity, and good transitions. The treatment of this last consideration seems a litte perfunctory, however. It would have been good to see the editors pointing out the rich possibilites, exploited by many writers, for

unobtrusive linking techniques such a picking up a key word from one paragraph and highlighting it at the start of another. (Harrison Salisbury, for one, does this well in his Beria story.) One other flaw was that the editors violated on more than one occasion their own prescription that good writing should be economical, producing a plodding effect. But the whole is well organized, perceptive, and clear.

More interesting than the general introduction are the short prefaces to each story. These often provide helpful background about how the story was gathered, and they list the category under which each piece was judged. A bit more of this background explanation would have added even more to the interest of an already admirable collection. The book should be a natural for collateral reading in any good journalism program.

Edward A. Nickerson
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Grammar and Gender. *By Dennis Baron.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986. 249 pp. Cloth, $23.50.

Attitudes toward language can work as a mirror on social attitudes. It is the thesis of this book that authorities on language historically have interpreted the origins and development of language with a significant bias against women.

Well into the nineteenth century, the Bible was an influential source for constructing linguistic theories, especially for explaining the phenomenon of gender in language. The story of Adam and Eve was particularly powerful as a paradigm. The result was a theoretical viewpoint that depicted feminine words and constructions as derivative and inferior to masculine forms. In etymology, the study of the origin of words, words referring to women frequently were traced in erroneous lineages which were extremely unflattering to women, such as the word "wife" as deriving from a Celtic combination of words meaning "my animal," and "woman" as a shortened version of "woe to man."

Baron also reports on efforts to reform the language, an ongoing historical process that on occasion has involved journalists. One enduring problem with English that is familiar to journalists is the lack of epicine pronouns, or pronouns that can refer to either sex. "Everyone loves his mother," to use an example from Baron's discussion, illustrates the difficulty and confusion in using masculine pronouns when the gender of the subject is indeterminate. The chronology of attempts to deal with the problem is full of journalistic references. A proposal to adopt the word "hiser" ("Everyone loves hiser mother") and other epicine pronouns was advanced in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* in 1884. Contributors to the dialogue on the issue as it has appeared in the press include H.L. Mencken, Leslie E. Blumenson, Christine M. Elverson, Tom Wicker, and William Safire. Not all observers have favored coining new words. Baron's chapter on the epicine pronoun is titled, "The Word That Failed." As toward many deliberate strategies of

linguistic reform, the culture has remained generally cautious. As for common-gender pronouns, Baron suggests that the culture might well settle in the end on combinations like "his or her," or on somewhat grammatically irregular constructions ("Everyone loves their mother").

Like all good historiography, Baron's work pulls us back from over-simplifying contemporary life. He reminds us, for example, that the title "Ms.," while strongly identified with recent feminism, actually received its initial boost toward acceptance from business, where it was extremely practical in commerical correspondence.

What is revealed most clearly, however, is that many of our ideas about language are drawn from an antifeminist tradition, one that permeated the scholarship of language to the detriment of both fairness and truth. As practitioners of language, journalists are taught to be conservatives. But they also are taught to be vigilant and socially responsible. Somewhere in this faceted role is a proper imperative for handling language in a manner that dignifies human beings.

Douglas Birkhead
University of Utah

Ralph Ingersoll: A Biography. *By Roy Hoopes.* New York: Atheneum, 1985. 441 pp. $19.95.

The remarkable Ralph Ingersoll once turned his back on a highly successful magazine career to start an innovative newspaper that he thought would revolutionize daily journalism.

The newspaper was the left-leaning *PM*, which first appeared with great fanfare in New York City on June 18, 1940. On the first day, the newspaper was in such demand that its delivery trucks were mobbed, but three months later *PM* was broke and magnate Marshall Field bought out other stockholders for 20 cents on the dollar.

Ingersoll's "dream" newspaper lingered on another eight years, but what he had envisioned as a bold and daring "daily magazine" by then had deteriorated into what some critics called a "crusading pamphlet."

Roy Hoopes, the author of this excellent biography, notes that Ingersoll's newspaper was beset by problems from the beginning, partly because of his eclectic political views. Ingersoll had joined a Communist study group in 1938.

"Ingersoll and his paper were attacked almost simultaneously by the Establishment press (for being pro-Communist)," Hoopes writes.

Hoopes notes that a number of other factors, including mismanagement and circulation problems, doomed *PM* to failure. "It was not a complete newspaper; it reached newsstands later than its competitors, with older news; the staff did not have enough professionals; the war between the pro-Communists seriously disrupted the staff; it was erratic – even in the things it did well," Hoopes explains.

Ingersoll, who was publisher of *Time* magazine before coming out of Henry Luce's shadow to found *PM*, produced a tabloid newspaper that would departmentalize news, use better paper, and stress superior writing, pictures, and design. The newspaper also would be free of advertising.

Even though Ingersoll's experiment failed, Hoopes credits him with bringing "the American newspaper screaming and kicking into the twentieth century, forcing it to compete with the magazine press which was pioneering new techniques in reporting, writing, layouts, art, and photography."

The *PM* experiment was just one of many eventful phases of Ingersoll's life. His work at *PM* was interrupted by distinguished military duty during World War II in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel and participated in landing at Utah Beach on D-Day. He wrote a best-selling book, *The Battle Is the Pay-Off*, about his war experiences.

A Yale-educated member of a prominent Eastern family, Ingersoll began his professional life as a mining engineer before testing the journalistic waters as a reporter for Hearst's *New York American*. Ingersoll then joined *The New Yorker* staff and helped Harold Ross develop that magazine during its early days. Later as a Luce executive, he was instrumental in developing *Fortune* and *Life* before becoming publisher of *Time*.

His personal life was also extraordinary. He was married four times and had affairs with two exceptional women – playwright Lillian Hellman and novelist Laura Z. Hobson.

After the failure of *PM*, Ingersoll concentrated on making money in newspaper management, and in 1979 *Fortune* estimated his wealth as between $75 an $100 million. *Advertising Age* listed Ingersoll Publications (which he founded with his oldest son) as among the top one hundred media companies in the nation. Ingersoll died on March 8, 1985, at the age of eighty-four.

Hoopes writes that America lost "one of its most creative and innovative journalists" when Ingersoll went into media management. "Ralph Ingersoll was no longer interested in reforming the newspaper business," Hoopes adds. "He still wanted to give the communities in which he invested a good newspaper, but his primary goal was to make money, not journalism history."

This is a highly readable book about a fascinating personality.

James S. Featherston
Louisiana State University

Victorian News and Newspapers. *By Lucy Brown.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985. 303 pp. Index, cloth, $55.

Carefully documented research and a comprehensive view of Victorian news and newspapers are two important characteristics that make this book valuable. A somewhat cumbersome style and a disjunctive series of catalog-like lists of examples, however, are two equally important characteristics that require readers to concentrate fully in order to see the whole panaroma of this

marvelous view.

Yet, the effort required to focus on each of the eleven topics is clearly worthwhile if only because new information, insights, and enticing questions await the readers who look closely and deliberately at these pages. To her credit, Brown eschews dry, statistical descriptions of a multitude of newspaper articles in favor of a more heuristic approach.

Since the technical development of newspaper printing has been reviewed at length by other writers, for example, Brown focuses on the impact of this development. We learn that, because the technology of the printing press developed so rapidly, some papers purchased new eight-feeders at the cost of an entire year's profit only to be forced in less than a decade to re-equip with a web rotary.

The general expansion of newspaper circulation in the Victorian period is also quite well known, so Brown explores the significance of the reasons most often given for this growth. She notes that the mere reduction of price was not sufficient – as claimed in most textbooks – to increase the number of persons who purchased a newspaper, since one reader could as easily pass on a cheap newspaper as an expensive one to another reader. Instead, Brown asserts that nothing less than a change in newspaper habits occurred, leading to what she calls "a buy-your-own mentality." One development contributing to this attitude, she notes, was "the increasing flimsiness of newsprint." Better lighting in the home and the enforced idleness of railway travellers are presented as two other possibilities.

The nature of the news itself is a topic of one of the more interesting chapters. At bottom, the Victorians, especially those who read the London dailies, preferred a steady diet of hard news, according to Brown, which included analyses and discussions of political events, long columns from foreign correspondents, and "serious reports of public affairs, local and national."

The chapter on foreign news reporting uses three examples to illustrate the way the British press covered events far from the white cliffs of Dover. One of these examples is the American Civil War. The two pages devoted to this topic are somewhat disappointing, however, primarily because the discussion does little more than briefly explore the notion of how coverage was affected by a particular newspaper's support for either the North or the South.

Another disappointment is the chapter on handling the news. The rise of sports and business reporting as distinct specialities is well documented, but there is no attempt to analyze the significance of these or other changes, such as the evolution of city pages, in the rapidly growing newspaper world of Victorian England.

A series of succinct, well-documented descriptions of various aspects of Victorian newspapers is perhaps the greatest strength of this book. What it lacks, though, is a serious attempt to analyze in depth these aspects, a clear focus on the importance of strong personalities (like W.T. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who is thought by some to be a precursor to the New Journalists), or an overall view of what in general characterized Victorian news and newspapers. The reader is left with memories of interesting, but discrete, items that are not integrated into a unified, coherent argument with com-

plicated analyses and sweeping assertions that could give a broad historical context to the topics discussed. Nevertheless, within this limited scope, the work succeeds very well.

Douglas S. Campbell
Lock Haven University

The Edward R. Murrow Heritage: Challenge for the Future. *Edited by Betty Houchin Winfield and Lois B. DeFleur.* Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1986. 114 pp. $19.95.

Although the story of Edward R. Murrow's career and key broadcasts has become standard fare for the student of journalism history, the extent of his influence and the philosophy he espoused are sometimes neglected or forgotten. Few remember his proposal to deal with commercial excess, for example, a recommendation that commercial tithing be instituted to support sponsorship of programs on important issues. This book, made up of essays and abstracts of proceedings of a 1983 Murrow Symposium at Washington State University, addresses this need.

Two Washington State professors, Betty Houchin Winfield and Lois B. DeFleur, edited the contributions of some thirty participants gathered at Murrow's alma mater to commemorate what would have been his 75th birthday. The book is divided into six chapters consisting of five interpretative essays followed by panel discussions and a keynote address by "60 Minutes" correspondent Diane Sawyer. The panelists include other current figures from CBS plus a wide range of elder statesmen including Murrow's partner Fred. W. Friendly.

One panel includes an appearance by every CBS News president to date, moderated by Everette Dennis of the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University. As one might predict, the emphasis rested here on Murrow's legacy at CBS and the many changes television news has undergone since the 1950s and '60s. Also, as expected, the increased emphasis on ratings was also the subject of this first session titled "Changing Times, Changing Industry." Some of the candid statements about the status of television news may surprise some readers. The network's current president, Van Gordon Sauter, points out, for example, that local operations increasingly are setting the standard for television news because of viewership levels for local programming. Less surprising, he credits local influence as the deciding factor in the eventual goal to produce a full hour of network news at CBS.

The second section is a comparatively short entry featuring former CBS and UPI chief William Small, correspondent Charles Kuralt and long-time CBS reporter/producer and Murrow colleague, Joe Wershba. They discuss the radical changes in television news tied to advancements in technology. They debate the issue of voter projection in national elections, indicative of the sticky problems new technology has introduced. Beyond this, an attempt is made to identify television visionaries in the Murrow mold.

Kuralt mentions a half dozen individuals before settling on Bill Moyers. It is Moyers who, in his judgment, is best equipped to carry-on the tradition and standards set by Murrow.

Kuralt also condemns the continuing policy of advancement at the local level for young reporters with limited experience, particularly those on a constant quest for a bigger market as opposed to an in-depth commitment and understanding of a community including its history and traditions. He calls this policy a "great handicap" to the maturity of local television news. Murrow's contribution as a role model and his priorities – providing moral leadership for the industry – were summed up by Joe Wershba in this section.

Chapter Three, "Edward R. Murrow: The Man and the Era," gives the reader an overview of Murrow's background and education and also surveys the climate in which he prospered as a young man. This session was moderated by Dean Mell of the Radio-Television News Directors Association and included comment by former CBS News vice president John Sharnik. In addition, the views of three individuals with ties to Washington State University are presented and provide considerable insight into the conditions surrounding the academic terrain of the times and Murrow's early career. This is an interesting supplement to previously published material including the Murrow biography by Alexander Kendrick, and Fred Friendly's *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control.*

With respect to contemporary issues, Chapter Four is probably the most provocative and interesting. Four panelists discuss press relations and coverage of crisis situations emphasizing wartime conditions and the resulting questions for reporters. Professor John D. Stevens of the University of Michigan presents legal issues related to the problems of crisis reporting while CBS News correspondent Bob Faw offers insight into dilemmas associated with his previous assignment of reporting on the Arab-Israeli conflict from Tel Aviv.

Two seasoned veterans, Clete Roberts and Fendall Yerxa, provide even further background into crisis reporting. Roberts presents a close look at censorship from his perspective as a former war correspondent with experience in World War II and Korea. Recently deceased, Roberts also raised policy issues regarding Vietnam coverage and reporting on the invasion of the Falklands by the British. Similarly, participant Fendall Yerxa draws on his experience at ABC News and the *New York Times* to discuss instances in which the public's right to know and military objectives appeared at odds. He relates one incident involving *Times'* self-censorship of a news analysis or "fuelhead" on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, something he felt quite strongly about but was denied permission to report.

The concluding discussion session presents a case study on the ethics of newsgathering and reporting lead by Murrow's famed colleague, Fred Friendly. a large panel consisting of reporters, broadcast managers, professors, lawyers, prosecutors, and a district judge are presented with an extremely complex case involving national security. Textbook issues in the field including the propriety of misrepresentation and lying to get a story, surface during Friendly's orchestration of this case with adroit grilling of

participants. Many of the problems inherent in the complex process of contemporary reporting are illustrated here, part of a discussion clearly expanding on a goal of this volume to measure current performance against Murrow's standards.

The concluding section is a transcription of Diane Sawyer's keynote address, "A Challenge for Tomorrow," in which she observes an inclination on the part of broadcasting students toward technique. She urges total education while fighting a seductive "telegenic homogeneity" (p. 105) among young broadcasters – those who should be allowed to develop specialized knowledge as part of the development of a broadcast beat system. Much of this we have heard before. At least one other conference participant, Charles Kuralt, has made similar pleas. But it is still refreshing to hear it again from a younger person prominent in the field – one who never met Edward R. Murrow but aspires to his challenge.

Overall, this book achieves the objectives to examine the impact of broadcast news, measure current performance, and deal with changes and obstacles all in light of the perspective of time and the standards set by Murrow. It provides further insight into the life of this great broadcaster and the development of his pioneering efforts, often from the perspective of those who knew him best. *The Edward R. Murrow Heritage* also makes some interesting observations about broadcast practices in view of historical evolution. On the other hand, one cannot read this book without concluding that broadcast journalism has a long way to go to meet the expectations once raised by Murrow and his associates at CBS. But it does offer a glimmer of hope. For this reason if nothing else the book is worth a reading.

Michael D. Murray
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Criticism in the University. *Edited by Gerald Graff and Reginald Gibbons.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1985. 234 pp. Paper. $12.95.

It is unusual to find members of the literary establishment gazing longingly at journalism. But that is the case with many of the contributors to this volume on literary criticism.

The motif of this book of essays is that current criticism is dominated by a professionalized, career-minded caste of academicians whose commentary is excessively specialized and theoretical, and stylistically inaccessible to a wide public audience. This situation is contrasted in many of the essays with a person-of-letters tradition nurtured in literary journalism, and seen in decline since the 1950s.

In the preface, Gerald Graff writes of a Whig view of the academicization of criticism that sees the near monopoly of the university in literary analysis as a progressive struggle since the nineteenth century aganst the amateurism of literary journalists. While not rejecting what one writer calls the self-

consciousness of theory, the essayists in this book contend that certain traditional conceptions of criticism retain their value. Many frame their arguments in favor of a place for journalism in the assessment of literature and culture.

While the volume is not a defense of literary journalism per se, a defense nevertheless emerges piece by piece, like a mosaic, as the authors analyze and comment on criticism in the university.

Graff writes of recent literary theory as a "private enclave" with its own personal jargon acutally preventing the dissemination of culture. Co-editor Reginald Gibbons develops a similar theme, characterizing the information age as not a case of information productivity running amok, but a problem of too much information specialization. The literary culture is inundated with excessively narrow streams of interpretation. The influence of contemporary media has not been positive in this regard, but in the history of journalism lies part of the solution: a traditional impulse to address wide and open publics.

A sharp contrast with the situation is offered by Gene H. Bell-Villada in an esssay on literary criticism in Latin America. He observes that criticism still commands a function in the general press of that region. Intellectuals tend to lead many lives of the mind: as teachers, novelists, poets, critical journalists. In the United States, "exquisite little cults" disdain the local or popular press. Not only is their role in the development of general culture marginal, but they are politically impotent as well compared with South American literary cadres.

In his essay "Journalism and Criticism," Morris Dickstein makes the argument in support of traditional literary journalism explicit. It contains a mini-history of reviewing, tracing its rise along with consumerism and the advertising of books. He attributes much of the low status of book reviewing to its origin and ties with commercialism and the marketplace. Notwithstanding, it drew a distinguished company of practitioners, including book writers themselves, and evolved as its own distinctive cultural artifact of literary merit. Reviewing depended upon creating a community of shared literary values, touching upon social concerns and requiring relevancy. As general literature itself, the traditional book review reflected some of the conventions of creative writing such as drama and vivid detail. What is lost in modern criticism, Dickstein suggests, is the "intimate, experiential dimension" of reading and appreciating a work of art. "The almost forgotten journalism of a century ago remains a model of what criticism might yet become," he writes, "a totality of response to works of art that is both scrupulous and committed, intensely private yet intensely public." (p. 157).

Similar sentiments are expressed by Mark Krupnick in "The Two Worlds of Cultural Criticism," but the period he focuses upon as exemplary is much more recent, the '30s and '40s, and involves the work of critics such as Van Wyck Brooks, Edmund Wilson and Lionel Trilling. An extension of his views may be found in his recently published literary biography, *Lionel Trilling and the Fate of Cultural Criticism.*

In "Critics and the Academy," Donald Davie brings out the irony of the contemporary condition of criticism, practiced primarily from the university and thus isolated from the marketplace. Criticism might be expected to

flower in such a privileged setting, fed by subsidized publishing, research grants and leisurely schedules. But as is self-evident to all but the most unreflexive academicians, the pressures of academic careers can be as destructive of sensibility as any submission to marketing. Indeed, the academic career is a form of marketing in which the individual professor and his or her vita constitute the product. The actual artifacts of scholarship are secondary to how they are tabulated. The most successful theories and methodologies are those that generate seemingly endless variations or examples.

In his essay "The Loss of the University," Wendell Berry cites the "loss of concern for the thing made, and back of that, I think, the loss of agreement on what the thing is that is being made." (p. 208) He asserts that professors have an imperative to speak plainly, but no longer have a common tongue, the university having emerged as a modern Babel.

Co-editor Graff offers that this volume of provocative essays is held together by a felt need to revive a cultural criticism based on general ideas and a larger sense of what constitutes imaginative writing, including other media. There is much in this observation and the essays themselves to suggest that journalism has a role to play in such a project. It would help if the profession and its educators recognized literary journalism as the important and central practice that it is.

Douglas Birkhead
University of Utah

Recorder of the Black Experience: A Biography of Monroe Nathan Work. *By Linda O. McMurry.* Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 154 pp. Index. Cloth, $20.

Linda O. McMurry's biographical contribution is in no way a superflous addition to the ever-growing mountain of biographies currently being published. In *Recorder of the Black Experience: A Biography of Monroe Nathan Work*, the author records the life of a man who was a member of one of the smallest minorities in the early years of the twentieth century: black academe.

McMurry traces the life of a patient scholar who, in the face of immovable social obstacles, managed to promote progress for his race through the quiet avenue of research. McMurry's research is welcome not only as a chronicle of the life of a black man dedicated to social change but as historiography founded in the concept that significant value can be found in someone far removed from the societal spotlight.

In addition, Work has journalistic import since it was his research which black leaders like W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, particularly the latter, used in forwarding the black cause via their arguments, debates, newspaper articles, etc. In fact, records indicate Work may actually have written presentations Washington used, and in so doing, indirectly served as

publicist for both Washington and black equality. Simply put, Work helped make the news of the period.

The most interesting aspect of Work that McMurry captures is not that the little-known sociologist knew and worked with both Du Bois, the activist supporting black union, and Washington, the accomodationist attempting to work within the white system, but the vastness of Work's sociological research. Work's mindset was remarkably simple: everything the black man did, was involved in, was affected by, no mater how miniscule, needed to be documented. Clearly this is the focus of McMurry's work. In the midst of difficult times and financially constricted working conditions, Monroe Nathan Work, a black man in white America, represented the classic scholar/researcher at the highest level. Here was a sociologist dedicated to the accumulation of data, and who, once having collected it, set about the task of explaining its significance in the belief that positive social change would result. In so doing he became a third force bolstering the black confidence, a force distinct from the more visible black movements led by Du Bois and Washington. Work's contribution was unobtrusive, it required patience, and it was excruciatingly slow at times. Work recorded data concerned with black Americans (in some cases, black Africans). In time, his formidable data base was the fountain from which Booker T. Washington often drank. And Washington was not alone.

This leads to intriguing lines of thought. Perhaps more historians would discover fresh perspectives by looking to the less spectacular names and events in history. In so doing, the growth, the perpetuation, and/or the death of movements throughout history might be more easily understood. McMurry lightly touches upon this (although not deeply enough) and it is the strength of the book.

The book's flaw, however, can be found in the title: *Recorder of the Black Experience*. The author never provides more than a passing glimpse to what the experience was. To fully grasp Work's significance, the reader needs more background. Without a larger canvas, the historical painting lacks both richness and focus. What is presented is well-documented and obviously well-researched. But McMurry has stopped short.

This book is often written as though Monroe Nathan Work lived in a vacuum. It is true he was not as visible a persona as others in the black community. No doubt he probably did his part to help lay the foundations for the modern civil rights movement. But after reading *Recorder of the Black Experience* we know no more of Monroe Work the man than if we had read a biographical encyclopedia summation of him. He isn't real, just a lifeless historical character whom we meet in passing. And we know even less of the period as it related to the black community in the United States. It is true that this book (or any biography) should not be a introductory black history text which alludes to men such as Monroe Work, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, ad infinitum. But it could, and perhaps should have been, a history of Work which more clearly delineated the environment in which he toiled. McMurry does relate the conditions at Tuskegee Institute as well as other places Work was employed, and she also touches upon the black conditions in America during the period. But these are treated in passing, never given

development nor prominence. Just as a news story often finds life through background development, so does historiography.

Monroe Work never comes alive. He is wooden, someone McMurray presents as a vital figure in the black movement during the period. And she is right. He was. Yet he lacks vitality. A fuller development of the political, economic, and social world of blacks in Work's time would have given the book the animation it lacks. When the historical figure cannot be brought to life, then the world surrounding him should be. In relation to Work, the problem may be tied to primary and secondary sources (or lack thereof). This is not the case for background development in the period.

This does, however, point to one of the frustrations of historiography: the unavailability or non-existence of data which could help paint a richer portrait of an individual or a period. Oftentimes it is an immeasurably easier task to systemically document deeds, tasks, goals, successes, failures, tragedies, glowing moments. But in the end after the story has been so carefully documented and prepared and told, the person escapes. For an historian, perhaps this is the largest challenge while being the single greatest cause for peptic ulcers. History is recorded while man is not. Civilization found but the creator lost.

Lloyd Chiasson
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Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam. *By Fred MacDonald.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1985. 277 pp. Cloth, $31.95; paper, $14.95

American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam. *By John Hellman.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. 241 pp. Cloth, $24.95.

Reagan Speaks: The Making of an American Myth. *By Paul D. Erickson.* New York: New York University Press, 1985. 172 pp. Cloth, $16.95.

At the same time politicians forced world issues into simple mythical terms to sell the Cold War, the nation began its addiction to the television set. Thus Americans got used to Cold War ideology and television at the same time. Television further simplified the already simple symbols created by the politicians.

The failure of American Cold War strategy in Vietnam, however, raised many questions about the Cold War, the press, electronic media, movies, and American myths in general.

Two recent books – J. Fred MacDonald's *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam* and John Hellman's *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam* – explore relationships between the mass media and the war. MacDonald traces the connection between television content and Cold War ideology from the early days of television through the Vietnam war.

Hellman looks at the broader cultural myths that were destroyed by American involvement in Vietnam and at the effort to define a new mythology.

A third book, Paul D. Erickson's *Reagan Speaks*, examines ways that traditional myths continue in the words of the "Great Communicator." Erickson finds standard themes and stock characters in President Reagan's speeches that indicate a return to the Cold War's dichotomous view of the world.

Television's pervasive and long-running repetition of Cold War themes in both news and entertainment, MacDonald contends, provides the explanation of why Americans would almost blindly support a war halfway around the world at the cost of billions of dollars annually and thousands of lives monthly. In his review of MacDonald's book in these pages (*American Journalism* III:2 [1986], pp. 122-123), Robert H. McGaughey III provided a valuable overview and analysis of this major theme in MacDonald's book.

MacDonald finds the roots of the Vietnam war in the growing alliances between radio and the federal government in the 1930s. Pre-World War II radio carefully avoided politics, especially in entertainment programs. The New Deal and World War II transformed the medium, increasing the mutual dependence between broadcasters and government.

MacDonald's conclusions about the influence of the medium should be treated more as hypotheses than as facts or conclusions. Yet the hypotheses he proposes are impressive and provocative. They deserve further study and debate; MacDonald has provided the data and established parameters that should foster debate for years to come.

MacDonald's correlations between U.S. foreign policy and television's content, although strong and convincing, do not necessarily demonstrate cause and effect.

An examination of one set of conclusions about the Korean conflict provides an example of the significance of MacDonald's book and the need to study his hypotheses. A quick drop in public support for the Korean War demonstrates, he contends, that the American people had not abandoned their basic isolationism with World War II. "It is interesting to note," he adds, "that in the Vietnam War – coming as it did after years of political conditioning primarily by television – public opinion supported the American commitment significantly longer." Indeed, there is little to argue with in the statement. But it is much more than a passing comment.

Other explanations for the drop in popular support for the Korean War must be eliminated before one can conclude television was responsible for support for the Vietnam war in contrast with Korea.

The American people could have lost interest in the Korean conflict because of the recent memories of World War II, which had just taken a powerful toll on the nation. Most people suffered in some way because of the war. Vietnam, however, influenced another generation, and World War II had faded from the public memory. Yet even here, the influence of television could be considered: How much is the length of the nation's memory influenced by the mass media? Some critics have charged that the media's present orientation denigrates history.

A second approach to MacDonald's hypothesis would consider the extent to

which, if his assumption is true, television not only shapes the issues but creates the national identity.

Japanese intellectual historian Masao Maruyama has explored how dictators manipulated popular imagery to lead people into facism. Maruyama, who lived through Japan's fascist period, said the process begins with a narrowing of the boundaries of political debate. Although people continued seeing vigorous debates from two sides of issues, the extremes of the debates became narrower. Together, the state and the media created an "upside down" world.

The situation was symbolized for Maruyama in a scene from Charlie Chaplin's "The Dictator" in which Chaplin had flown into a cloud and turned upside down without realizing it until he tried to figure out what time it was. "For man whose intellect and senses are shut up in an inverted world and for whom the upside-down image has become normal, the normal appears, by contrast, to be inverted. Within such a world absurdity replaces common sense, and sanity is treated as insanity; the watch does dangle up from the fob, and the water does pour up out of the top of the canteen!"

If one shares MacDonald's assumption about television's power, the medium took control of our senses during World War II and the Cold War and, together with government, helped shape a world in which an absurd war appeared to be a natural action. But if television exerted the power that MacDonald assumes throughout his book, then his conclusions about the post-Vietnam media are inappropriately optimistic.

In its coverage of the war's end, Watergate, and threats of war in the Middle East and Central America, MacDonald concludes, "television acted as it had not in the past, to present a balance of opinion and a willingness to investigate without bias."

The preponderance of MacDonald's evidence demonstrates just the opposite of his conclusion. Television is not balanced, not independent, not responsible, and not thorough – especially when entertainment as well as news is considered. An alternative explanation for television's seeming independence is that it has been covering the breakdown of the liberal consensus behind U.S. foreign policy.

Because of disarray in Washington, TV reporters have many sources with many perspectives. There's little in the performance of television news to suggest that, once a new consensus is formed, reporters won't fall into place in support of it. On the contrary, all of MacDonald's evidence suggests that television will support the power of the state. Even the current debates, as MacDonald points out, fail to reflect the pre-World War II diversity.

MacDonald assumes that television is, in part, responsible for American conformity – the national consensus behind violent, irrational policy. But an examination of Alexis de Tocqueville's comments on American democracy in the 1830s should give pause to those who blame conformity on the mass media. De Tocqueville accused Americans who took pride in democracy and individualism of discouraging democracy and encouraging conformity through public pressure. In his pre-radio, pre-television, pre-photography time, de Tocqueville said public opinion could be as tyrannical as any dictator or king.

MacDonald's chapter on the transition from Cold War to hot war in Vietnam begins with the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy. The event was perfect television with its exhortation to patriotic sacrifice, its challenge to the Russians, its idealism and memorable phrases.

The Kennedy mystique had a decisive influence upon many of the literary and biographical sources considered in Hellman's book. Hellman takes an in-depth look at the symbols in the content of movies, novels, memoirs, and political rhetoric to conclude that America's most important loss in the Vietnam War may have been a mythical one: the nation lost its sense of purpose and uniqueness.

Hellman invites his readers into a well-written, intriguing, and provocative exploration of the nation's "symbolic landscape" and how the Vietnam experience changed it.

Since their landing on the American continent, white folks had a view of themselves as occupying a special place in human history between the decadence of European society and the savage innocence of the natives of the new continent.

In the first paragraph of his book, Hellman compares the unique American, "this new man," described by Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur in 1782, with the characters in *The Ugly American*, an incredibly popular 1957 novel depicting American diplomats in Southeast Asia as fat, ostentatious, stupid, loud, and bureaucratic.

These diplomats, authors William Lederer and Eugene Burdick contended, were losing the Cold War by wasting their time in bureacratic meetings and at elegant cocktail parties while the Communists quietly won the hearts of the common folk. This novel, Hellman says, spoke to American anxieties of the 1950s – fears of becoming a nation of "organization men" lost in a "lonely crowd."

The Ugly American sold four million copies, making it one of the best-selling books in American history. Such popularity for a book containing comic-book characters and scenes lifted from B westerns indicates that it spoke to something basic in the American psyche.

Presidents escalating the war and leaders of the anti-war movement both borrowed from the traditional American mythical landscape. The Southeast Asian landscape became the stage on which Americans played out their own symbolic struggle between the individual and society, country and city, nature and technology, individualism and bureaucracy, innocence and corruption. To be true to their assumptions about the myth, each side would have to reject the other.

The major cultural treatments of the war must come to terms with its mythical consequences. Hellman contends that the movie "The Deer Hunter" challenges the central assumptions of the western and that "Apocalypse Now" takes the hard boiled detective genre to Southeast Asia.

Even the memoirs of American soldiers such as Philip Caputo, Ron Kovic, and Tim O'Brien show men at war with their own concept of what was good in themselves. Commenting on the unseen enemy, Caputo said, "It was as if the trees were shooting at us." Nature was on the wrong side.

Readers of the memoirs cannot miss the sense of betrayal the authors felt

when they discovered that war was not the way it had been portrayed in John Wayne movies. Kovic and Caputo explain the horror of seeing people wounded in grotesque ways and the striking realization that nothing was as they had expected. These works, Hellman contends, seem "less interested in a sustained portrait of the war than in an exploration of its implications for American myth."

And the "darkest revelation" is, as Hellman sees it, the realization that Americans are not unique – that they are as capable of atrocities, senseless violence, bureaucratic bungling, and corruption as are any of the people they came to fight and save from such horrors.

Hellman finds many of the nation's illusions in its sense of unique mission. Yet he states that every nation has a special identity and that the post-Vietnam challenge is to redefine American uniqueness.

Surprisingly, Hellman finds hope in George Lucas' trilogy of *Star Wars* movies in which the American hero goes through a traumatic fall during which he "discovers his limits and his intimate relation to evil," accepts his "need for self-examination" and "returns chastened but determined to pursue right."

Star Wars filled a "painful gap" in 1977 by providing movie goers with enemies that were at once British redcoats and German storm troopers. "Their leader, Darth Vader, is a black-clad figure whose masking helmet shows us at once the visage of a medieval lord, a Nazi commander, a corrupting insect, an inhuman against a composite of our culture's darkest images of Europe."

Star Wars effectively compresses pre-Vietnam American myth, but the imagery in the subsequent films, *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980) and *Return of the Jedi* (1983), becomes more complex. The *Star Wars* trilogy allows Americans "to retain their ideas of national uniqueness and special mision," but the stories "shed the notion of a virgin national birth" that exempted the United States "from the universal fallibility of human character and history."

The third film ends with discord or possibility, depending upon how one looks at it. The victory celebration at the end of the third movie leaves one with a feeling of anticipation as much as resolution, leaving the possibility of either progress or lapse. Thus, Hellman concludes, the ending is not apocalyptic and millennial at all, but it encourages one to take control of his own destiny.

Politically, the nation sought its renewal through the election of a president "who would somehow lead them back to the mythic landscape they inhabited before Vietnam," Hellman states. But he has doubts about the political response: "No nation can survive without myth; no nation profits from holding onto a myth that cannot plausibly include recent historical experience."

President Reagan, Erickson says, adopts "imaginary personalities" and uses "stock characterizations" for symbolic, yet inspirational, themes that work on several levels. Reagan tells anecdotes that are actually parables, and his "overall rhetoric of the American Dream is itself a grand parable that translates history into an epic of mythological proportions." Reagan's stories praise ordinary people as heroes, and intellectuals and liberals as villains or

dupes.

In the early 1960s, Reagan took up politics and demonstrated a knack for telling stories to illustrate the value of common sense over bureaucratic bungling. "None of Reagan's exemplary tales could be traced or disputed," Erickson writes. "Rather than provide names, dates, and other details that could be checked and then either confirmed or denied, Reagan used concrete yet evidently apocryphal vignettes to make his points."

Citing a 1981 Notre Dame commencement speech, Erickson shows how Reagan's evocation of Knute Rockne became, not Rockne, but the Hollywood depiction of him in which Reagan played a role. "Reagan has made an interpretation of history based not on facts, but on metaphor, on acting and on story treatments. Reagan's didactic history of the world is not history, but consciously crafted mythology."

The apocalyptic nature of Reagan's vision is not confined to the ideological struggle with the Soviet Union. "He reduces questions about economic planning, constitutional interpretation, national defense, and all other matter to their most basic emotional level and presents them as parts of a struggle between good and evil," Erickson says.

Erickson devotes a chapter to the 1984 election as more "a contest based on two versions of American history" than, as Reagan contended, "between two different visions of the future."

Reagan's re-election oratory was rich in symbolic patriotic language harking back to traditional religious and nationalistic values. The adoption of the Olympic games into the patriotic fervor made the sport almost a part of the Reagan campaign. His speeches brought together pride, Americanism, Christianity, and Reagan.

Erickson shows that challengers Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro applied the words and motifs of Reagan's oratory to their own premises and adopted Reagan's rhetoric of patriotism. Traditionally, presidential candidates try to rob each other's voters in the last days before the general election. In 1984 Mondale campaigned from an aircraft carrier; Reagan from a senior citizens' high rise that he previously had opposed. This theft of each other's constituencies occurred at a time when both candidates claimed to be providing the American people the clearest possible choice.

The rhetoric of 1984 raises Maruyama's specter of the narrowing of political debate. Coverage of the campaign and subsequent debates over the MX and Nicaragua demonstrate that, television's post-Vietnam independence notwithstanding, the Reagan Administration can literally "scare up" congressional support by harking back to the dichotomy defined by Harry Truman more than forty years earlier.

If, as Erickson assumes, a president's success "is determined by how effectively he can persuade us *to believe* through the use of symbolic actions and language as well as through genuine administrative accomplishments," then reporters must take some responsibility for understanding these symbols and how they convey them to the American people.

The measure of the media's effectiveness should be how well they separate the real from the unreal, point out contradictions and factual errors, and expand the limits of debate by finding disparate sources rather than confining

every subject to two sides.

William E. Huntzicker
University of Wisconsin - River Falls

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